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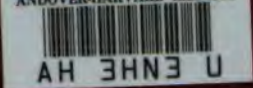
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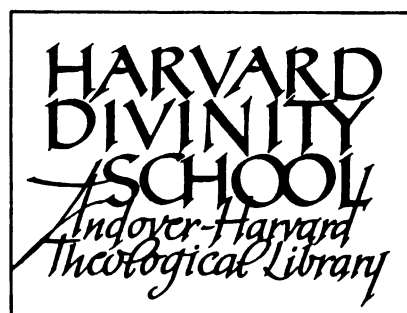
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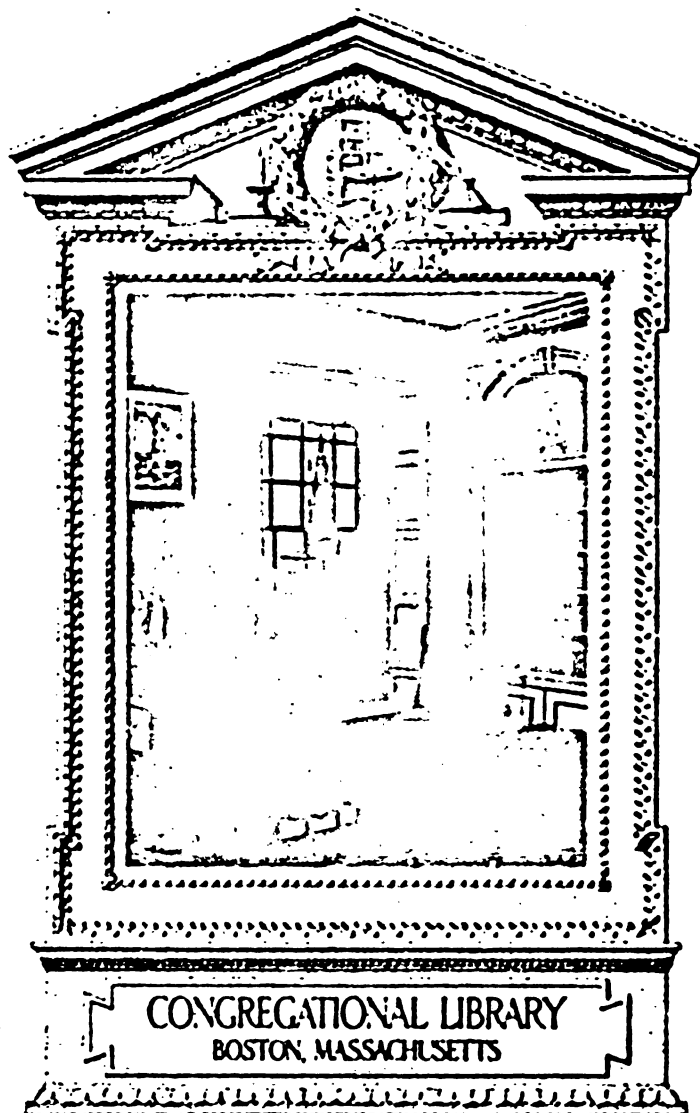




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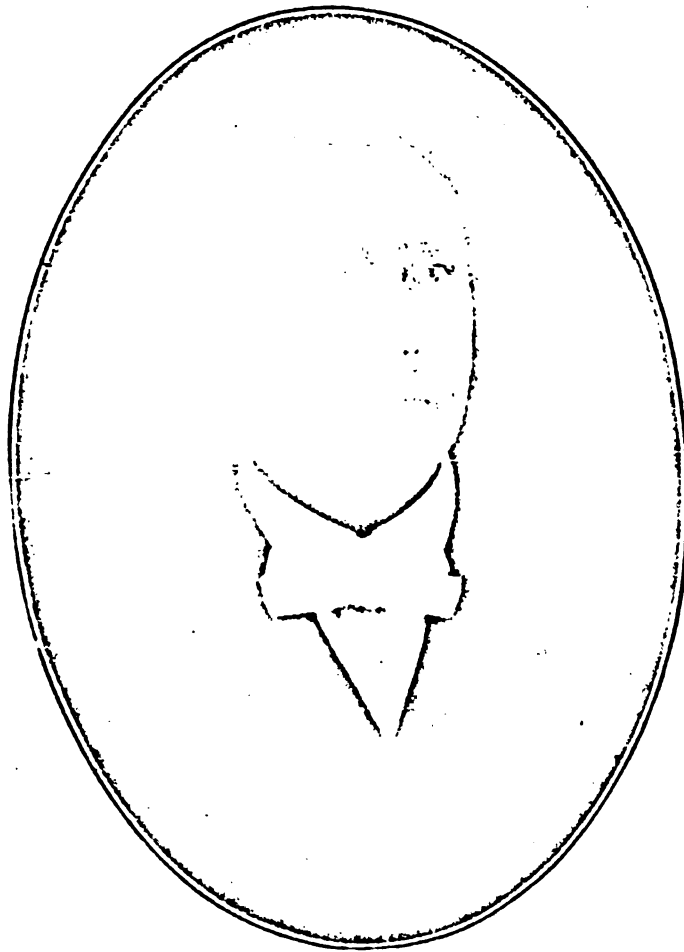
Dr. and Mrs. S. L. Beougher





Historical Committee of
Christian Church - to
Hist. Com. of Cong. Lewis

Harvey H. Devision, Chairman



MILD T. MORRILL.

A HISTORY
of the
CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION
IN AMERICA

1794 - 1911 A. D.

By
MILO TRUE MORRILL, M. A., D. D.
Secretary ^{for} Foreign Missions

DAYTON, OHIO
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**DEDICATED TO
MY BRETHREN OF THE CHRISTIAN
DENOMINATION
AMONG WHOM I HAVE FOUND DELIGHTFUL
FELLOWSHIP.**

FOREWORD

WRITING this history was not a self-imposed task. In January, 1908, at its annual meeting, the Executive Board of the American Christian Convention by vote requested the author to prepare a history of the Christian denomination. From the undertaking he shrank at first, but on second thought accepted the task and at once began to collect material. Rev. E. A. DeVore, Rev. D. B. Atkinson and Prof. J. N. Dales were named at that time as a consulting committee, and they have made contribution by suggestion and material furnished. More than four years have been consumed in preparing the manuscript for this work.

When the Executive Board asked the author to write this history, it was understood that the book should contain a sketch of the movement which resulted in the organization of the denomination, and an account of its subsequent development to the present time. Such an outline necessarily excludes the detailed treatment of periods and institutions, and has to do chiefly with the ideas underlying the movement and denomination, and with the resultant denominational institutions. Effort has been made to clearly indicate the growth and enlargement from period to period. At the same time the great need of a work embodying exact data about the denomination has led to incorporation of much matter that might otherwise have been omitted, making this a convenient work for handy reference. In fact it approaches the nature of a compendium. Copious footnotes, a list of the main sources of matter used, following each chapter, an appendix containing much valuable matter hardly suitable for the main text, and a thorough index, have fitted this book, it is hoped, not only for ordinary reading, but for a school text-book, and

for use in conference study courses, teacher-training, and study classes of various sorts.

It is not good for institutions to be like Melchizedec, without generation or genealogy. The Christians need a history of themselves to give them self-respect and knowledge of their career. Much history is being lost every year. A reading public deserves information about a people who need not blush for their past or present. The plain truth demands a work like this and better than this. Thousands of people in our land never heard of the Christians, and hundreds are confusing the Christians with the Disciples of Christ; indeed, in some parts of the country the Disciples themselves can hardly make the distinction, and do not know exactly why they are calling themselves the "Christian Church." Their writers are claiming Stone and Purviance and O'Kelly and Haggard as founders of their sect. In the United States census, prior to 1890, the people who never have acknowledged any general appellation except "Christian Church" or (in the North) "Christian Connection," were counted in with the Disciples of Christ. This volume should aid in dispelling all confusion, informing the Christians about themselves, informing the Disciples that the Christian denomination was organized a quarter of a century before the Disciples were,¹ and, finally, giving the public knowledge of a denomination that early played a remarkable part in the religious history of America.

Several times, from the twenties onward, certain men have been chosen to prepare a history of the Christians; and in every case they have failed to complete their tasks, although large amounts of material were gathered. No history has thus far been published. J. R. Freese, M. D., Rev. Nicholas Summerbell and Rev. J. P. Barrett have each compiled considerable amounts of data, and the compilations have been published. In the main, therefore, the author of this work has found it not only advisable but necessary to resort to original sources so far as possible, and to verify his data by all means at hand. Often this has been vexing and difficult,

¹ No ill will or resentment is implied in this explanation.

as sources and authorities do not agree among themselves. Two accounts of the same thing by the same writer, but written at different times, contain discrepancies irreconcilable. It is therefore probable that numerous mistakes will be discovered in this book, and the author will be glad to have his attention called to them, that they may be eliminated should editions of this history be issued in the future. Often in the pages following literary style and many an interesting event and anecdote have been sacrificed to condensation; and any lack of coherence should be largely attributed to the fragmentary manner in which the book has been written, for the composition has been done almost entirely during spare moments, holidays, and hours when the author was free from his regular duties. He hopes that it may be found moderately well done, for it may prove the largest service which he can render to the brotherhood.

The author heartily acknowledges his indebtedness to the many persons who furnished copies of records and other needful material, for the loan of helpful books, and for timely assistance in other ways. He is especially indebted to his wife, Alice V. Morrill, for assisting in gathering material for this volume, and for verifying the references; and to Rev. A. H. Morrill, Rev. O. W. Powers, Rev. J. F. Burnett, Rev. J. G. Bishop and Rev. E. A. Watkins, for reading manuscript and proof sheets, making corrections and giving valuable suggestions. For the selection of matter contained in this work, for the form in which the matter has been cast, for interpretation of facts and events, and for sentiments and opinions expressed, except such as have been obtained or quoted from other sources, the author assumes full responsibility.

M. T. M.

Dayton, Ohio.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

Full titles and descriptions of books will be found in lists of sources at the end of each chapter.

- A. C. C.=American Christian Convention.
- Adams=History of the United States.
- Ap.=Appendix.
- Autob.=Autobiography.
- Badger=Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger.
- Bassett=American Nation: The Federalist System.
- Bib. Doc.=The Bible Doctrine.
- Biog.=Biography.
- Cent. Book=Centennial of Religious Journalism.
- Chris. Alm.=Christian Almanac.
- Chris. An.=Christian Annual.
- Chris. Her.=Christian Herald.
- Chris. Miss.=Christian Missionary.
- Chris. Pall.=Christian Palladium.
- Chris. Reg.=Christian Register and Almanac.
- Chris. Sun=Christian Sun.
- Davidson=History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky.
- Elson=History of the United States.
- Fernald=Life of Elder Mark Fernald.
- Freese=History and Advocacy of the Christian Church.
- Gates=The Disciples of Christ.
- Gardner=The Autobiography of Elder Matthew Gardner.
- Gos. Her.=Gospel Herald.
- Gos. Lum.=Gospel Luminary.
- H. G. L.=Herald of Gospel Liberty.
- Ibid.=Ditto, or the same place.
- Jones=Memoir of Abner Jones.
- Kernodle=Lives of Christian Ministers.
- Kinkade=The Bible Doctrine.
- MacClenny=Life of Rev. James O'Kelly.
- McMaster=History of the People of the United States.
- McNemar=The Kentucky Revival.
- McTyeire=History of Methodism.
- Mill. Harb.=Millennial Harbinger.
- P.=page; pp.=pages.
- Purviance=The Biography of Elder David Purviance.
- Rogers=The Cane Ridge Meeting House.
- Shaw=Memoir of Elder Elijah Shaw.
- Smith=The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith.
- Stone=Biography of Elder Barton Warren Stone.
- Taylor=Memoir of Elder Benjamin Taylor.
- Vol.=Volume.

CHAPTER I

THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
VOLUME 10
PART 1
1880
LONDON
PUBLISHED BY THE INSTITUTE
21, BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C.

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER I

CHAMPIONS OF LIBERTY IN RELIGION

WHATEVER their source and inspiration, all great movements among mankind have human expression and promotion. If men act on the presumption of divine inspiration, yet the first visible evidence of the afflatus lies in human conduct. Beginnings of achievements are connected with men, and study of beginnings kindles the desire for acquaintance with men who achieved this or that. Wherefore our thought must be focused first upon that little group of leaders in a movement of which this volume is the history, a movement still gathering momentum as it is projected into the twentieth century.

JAMES O'KELLY

Like some other great men O'Kelly was born in several places, if all claims were true—in Virginia, in North Carolina and in old Ireland, probability being strongly in favor of the last. The family was an old one, traceable back to the middle ages, and nobly connected. His birth must have been about 1735, for he died in 1826, in his ninety-second year. As a boy he probably received education in Ireland; as a youth he came to America, settling first in Surry County, Va., later moving to Chatham County, North Carolina. Tradition links O'Kelly's name with that of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, and he was in every way fitted for their companionship.

Of his educational advantages nothing definite is known.

Of his marriage to Elizabeth Meeks, of Virginia, we have no details, not even the date, although 1760 is conjectured.¹ They

¹ MacClenny, p. 17.

had two sons, John and William, the latter born in 1763. With the advent of Methodism in the neighborhood, Mrs. O'Kelly and the boy William were converted and joined the Methodist class. This was about 1774, and near the same time James O'Kelly, the father, "experienced" religion after the soul-racking manner of that day. He soon joined the "connection," and became a licensed traveling preacher, devoted and effective. His conversion was thorough, and his reformation radical. No definite information as to his first traveling is obtainable, except that he began in 1775, January, and preached in southern Virginia in 1777.¹ The established church did not like traveling Methodist exhorters, and O'Kelly's debut was resented; but people flocked to hear him, and many were converted. He became, almost at a bound, one of the foremost Methodist preachers in America.

Rev. Robert Williams was the first Methodist preacher in Virginia, and preached his first sermon from the old courthouse door in Norfolk.² Rev. Richard Wright, of England, was stationed at Norfolk in 1773. Methodist societies increased rapidly in numbers, and so did the number of young traveling preachers. But they were all under a serious disability; for only the Episcopal clergy could marry people, christen, administer the communion and perform burial rites. Often their services were distasteful, in case the clergy were men of loose conduct and lax character. And since O'Kelly and the early Methodist preachers had no clerical authority, they too depended on the clergy of the established church for the ordinances.

When O'Kelly joined with other southern preachers in constituting a presbytery to administer the ordinances and give others like authority; in opposition to Mr. Asbury's wish, he was disciplined with the rest and made to feel episcopal power. In 1784 he was appointed over a district and ordained an elder, in spite of his previous refusal to bind himself (as all were

¹ MacClenny, p. 21.

² *Ibid.* p. 26.

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asked to do by Mr. Asbury), to adhere to John Wesley's "old plan."

As the closing scenes of the Revolution transpired on southern soil, some traveling preachers' vocation proved perilous; and O'Kelly, although itinerating in North Carolina, once fell into the hands of Tories and once into British hands. Refusing to swear allegiance to the king, he was placed on scanty rations and suffered severely until he escaped from his captors. Then he enlisted as a soldier, served through two campaigns, and once sent a substitute when drafted. Having spent the year 1781 serving his country in the army, he served it the next year riding a circuit, with an assistant, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

Great revivals marked the year 1788 in Virginia, especially in O'Kelly's district in southern Virginia. He was busily employed. And all through these years he was prominent in conference and the general councils of the rapidly growing new denomination. Bishop Asbury prevailed upon the conferences to establish for him a council of presiding elders. After the first session O'Kelly persuaded his district to reject the institution, foreseeing that the Council might become a bishop's tool; and Mr. Asbury and his democratic elder fell out, the bishop being told to his face that the councilors were mere tools, and that O'Kelly disliked to be anybody's tool.¹ As a liberty-loving patriot he could not brook autocracy. In 1790 the bishop sliced off a chunk of the elder's district, putting over it a new elder.

In 1792 the great struggle between the lovers of liberal church government and the adherents of the Asburian plan occurred in the general conference convened that year. James O'Kelly was aggressive in opposing episcopacy, and his famous resolution for the "right of appeal" was lost. He then withdrew from conference with several companions; and henceforward his ministerial career was outside the Methodist Epis-

¹ MacCleenny, p. 65.

copal Church. Conciliatory measures were proposed by Bishop Asbury, Dr. Coke and others, on the one hand, and by the O'Kelly party on the other. But the Bishop's unyielding attitude made all overtures nugatory.

The "Republican Methodist Church" was organized by the O'Kelly party, in a manner hereafter to be detailed, and the man who had all along advocated and struggled for democratic church government was the leading spirit in the new church. But within a year the Republican Methodists dissolved their organization, and reorganized on broader principles the "Christian Church." James O'Kelly continued to travel and preach as of old, but under the new banner, meantime conducting a vigorous propagandism for the principles of the infant "Christian Church."

Material for the life of O'Kelly during his remaining days is not abundant; but we know that he spent thirty-three years serving the new denomination, traveling among its churches, attending their annual gatherings, ordaining ministers, and everywhere proclaiming religious liberty as exemplified by the Christians. About 1810 a heated contest between him and Rev. William Guirey arose over the mode of baptism, O'Kelly contending valiantly for effusion, and Guirey for immersion. The result was a split in the denomination. In all probability this discussion was precipitated by Elias Smith's position taken by him in the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. All through the South the baptismal question created stir and division. O'Kelly's party organized the "Old North Carolina Conference," Guirey's party the "Virginia Conference."¹ Dissension and decline were the rule until after James O'Kelly's death. But eventually both parties were again united in 1854.

O'Kelly's home in his latter days was in Chatham County, North Carolina, where he had some property. Not far from this home he organized his first Christian Church, then and

¹ MacClenny, p. 158.

now known as O'Kelly's Chapel, near Chapel Hill, seat of the state university. From this home he ranged the country, going as far north as Washington, D. C. Tradition makes it probable that he was intimate with the household of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. It is said that by Jefferson's arrangement the minister preached in the hall of the House of Representatives twice, the first time making a failure, the second time retrieving himself much to Jefferson's delight, as well as that of the people. It is even held that this friendship was what attached the stigma of "infidel" to Jefferson, for that was one of the denunciatory names applied to O'Kelly.

Like Elias Smith, this man O'Kelly became quite a writer and author. "The Author's Apology for Protesting Against the Methodist Episcopal Government" seems to have been his first publication, dating about 1798. This was followed three years later by "Vindication of an Apology." In rapid succession came, "Divine Oracles Consulted," "Christicola," "Church Government," "The Christian Church," "Annotation on His Book of Discipline," dated 1809; "Letters from Heaven Consulted," in 1822; a tract on baptism; commentaries on the books of the New Testament; a tract on slavery, opposing that institution; "Hymns and Spiritual Songs Designed for the Use of Christians," "The Prospect Before Us by Ways of Address," the last issued in 1824, and probably his last publication.

He retained his faculties until the last, and was a well-preserved old man. He could preach vigorously, and that for two or three hours.¹ In April, 1826, he made his will, knowing that he must soon quit this life, although he lingered until the following October, dying the 16th day, having passed his ninety-first year. His burial was on his farm, where a monument stands above his grave, dedicated to the "Southern Champion of Christian Freedom." Of the man's greatness there can be no doubt, for even his enemies admitted that; his character no one has been able successfully to impugn; his standing

¹ MacClenny, p. 226.

as a preacher was very high; as an intrepid leader, agitator and reformer his place is secure. But on the other hand he was a man of dictatorial spirit and unbending will, occasionally manifesting some impatience when crossed in his purpose. He could not organize, and for that reason played a losing game. Had he been a man of tact and administrative ability, his work would have been many fold multiplied in results. When we sum him all up, we must give him a sure place among advocates of truth and the sacredness of human conscience. Very little has been preserved for us about his family life and descendants; but there are several persons who trace their ancestry back to James O'Kelly, and preserve sacredly the family traditions.

RICE HAGGARD

Careful students of the history of the Christian denomination will inevitably regret that no material exists, so far as is known, for an adequate life of Rice Haggard, one of the men who withdrew from the famous Christmas Conference at Baltimore, Maryland, 1792, with Rev. James O'Kelly and others. What little we can learn of him leaves with us the impression that he was a man worth knowing. The date of his birth is placed at 1769¹, but the place is not named. His early life was probably largely passed in Norfolk County, Virginia. Of his parentage we can say nothing except that father and mother were very poor. He was brought up to farm life, and received no education. The common tradition about his early days is put into verse by Joseph Thomas, "The White Pilgrim," as follows:

"In thy youth thy God commanded thee away
From fond pursuits and objects of the day—
To leave the plough and all thy friends around
To seek a Saviour, and the gospel sound.
Thy parents, poor, had never taught thee then

¹ Cent. Book. p. 269.

To read the Bible, nor to use the pen;
But in the smooth sand thou didst learn to write,
And taught thyself to read by fagot light!"

This seems to mean that at his conversion he was utterly illiterate. His later acquirements must have been considerable, and that his mind was well developed and logical in acumen we are assured from later events and what he said.

When about twenty years old Haggard began the life of a traveling preacher in the Methodist connection, being admitted to full membership in 1790,¹ and given a circuit in Bedford County, Virginia. Although stationed in Virginia for two years, he seems to have visited Kentucky² and made acquaintance with that new country, which later led him to settle there, and consequences of much importance grew out of his residence in Kentucky. As above stated, Rice Haggard withdrew from the Methodist General Conference in 1792, when the vote passed refusing the right of appeal; and he was a member of the Republican Methodist Church organized by men who withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church. When a year later there was difficulty in formulating a constitution and selecting a name for the new church, Haggard was ready with the suggestion that henceforth the followers of Christ call themselves "Christians," to the exclusion of all party names.

Not far from this time he was married to Nancy Wiles, widow of William Wiles. She was daughter of a Revolutionary War captain, named William Grimes, and fell heir to four thousand acres of land given as a military bounty to her father. From the formation of the Christian Church in 1794, Rice Haggard labored constantly in its ministry, traveling with other ministers until his removal to Kentucky, and became well and favorably known in adjacent parts of Virginia and North Carolina, especially in mountainous districts. In 1801 he is said to have traveled what was known as the "Mountain Circuit," in Virginia.

¹ Kernodle, p. 34.

² Cent. Book, p. 269.

Several booklets concerning church government and doctrine are ascribed to Haggard, the most noteworthy being that entitled, "Union of all the followers of Christ in one Church," in which the positions taken by the Christian Church were expounded and defended, including the determination to be known simply as "Christians." David Haggard, brother of Rice, went to Kentucky not much later, and perhaps about the time the Christian Church in that state was formed, and Rice seems to have journeyed thither with him and to have acquired land near Burksville, Kentucky, on what became known as Haggard's Branch. It is unlikely, however, that he moved his family there so early. It is recorded also that Haggard was present, June, 1804, at the meeting of the famous "Springfield Presbytery," which was organized as a result of the separation of Barton W. Stone and others from the Presbyterian Church in that state. To this man is credited the suggestion made to Stone that disciples of Christ should be called simply "Christians;" and as the Presbytery published Haggard's tract on the name "Christian," it is logical to conclude that the dissolution of that Presbytery, the organization of churches on the ground occupied by the Christians in Virginia and North Carolina, and adoption of the name "Christian Church" are attributable to Rice Haggard.¹

After this he again resided in Norfolk County, and was visited there in 1807 and 1809. Children were born to him, the oldest being named significantly James O'Kelly Haggard. That he continued preaching is evident from the meager mention made of him by preachers who visited him. In 1810 he seems to have planned another trip to Kentucky; but whether he went there is not stated.² Two years later he removed with his family to Cumberland County, Kentucky, and resided a few years. Then he sold out and moved to the forks of Kettle Creek. His Virginia home was sold in 1816. All these years Haggard traveled and preached, going into Alabama, western

¹ Cent. Book, p. 270. See Stone, p. 50. Davidson, p. 108. ² Ker-

nodle, p. 36.

Kentucky, and as far north as to Champaign County, Ohio. Fatal illness overtook him during a trip to the last named locality in 1819, and it was there that his will was made upon his death-bed. Burial is said to have been in Xenia, Ohio.

This fragmentary outline is what we know and may reasonably infer about a man who started in most unpromising surroundings, with serious handicap, who was what we call to-day a "self-made man," and whose influence is still felt by many thousands of people. J. B. Green¹ infers that in his later years Haggard discounted local and general church organization, led to that inference by what he had discovered in many congregations where probably Haggard's voice had often been heard. But organization was incipient in Virginia and New England, until about 1814, which is the date of the earliest conference organization definitely recorded in Virginia and North Carolina. But a conference organization is mentioned in Kentucky as early as 1804.² Haggard was a man of great persuasive powers, keen and logical mind, ability both as preacher and author, ready with practical suggestions when methods were needed. His voice is spoken of by the poet as "sonorous," "like silver trumpet's sound." He had the faculty for organization and handling of business.

Although Campbellism appeared in Kentucky after his death, yet his influence was probably one of the factors that saved the remnant when nearly the whole body of Christians in Kentucky and Tennessee was swept into the Disciples of Christ church.

ABNER JONES

Back on the eastern slope of a lofty hill, in the northern part of the town of Bridgewater, Vermont, are remains showing where once stood a humble home. From that spot, with almost unobstructed view, one's gaze may wander over and beyond hill after hill, partly cleared and partly wooded, in

¹ Cent. Book, p. 270.

² See H. G. L., Oct. 6, 1910.

summer verdant and beautiful, wander beyond the Connecticut River, and to the mountain ridges of New Hampshire, hazy, blue and dim.¹ At this spot where we stand, and over the excavation now partly filled with stones, was erected a rude log cabin, nearly one hundred and thirty years ago, the first settler's rude abode in the town of Bridgewater to break the solitude of that forest wilderness.

Here, in 1780, a family named Jones, from Royalton, Mass., about eighty miles from Boston, settled and resided. The elder Jones was born in Sutton, Mass., was brought up to farming, and with his wife, who was Dorcas Wade, daughter of Nathan Wade, of Gloucester, R. I., established a home on a little farm in Charlton, Mass., later removing to Royalton. Five children came into the Jones home, two daughters and three sons, Abner, the youngest, being the one who especially interests us. Mr. Jones and his good wife were Baptists of the Calvinist type, stern and rigid, and their children were instructed in that faith.

Abner Jones, the fifth child, was born in Royalton, April 28, 1772, and was eight years old when the family emigrated to Vermont; and in that cabin home, and among the wooded hills of that and neighboring towns he grew to manhood, a sturdy muscular boy. It is not easy to imagine how rude and destitute that first wilderness home of the Joneses was, how difficult it was to reach it through the March snows of 1780, and how great were the privations undergone by the family. Describing it later Mr. Jones said: "Our house was erected without either plank, joist, boards, shingles, stone, brick, nails or glass; but was built wholly of logs, bark, boughs and wooden pegs in the room of nails. The snow was then about four feet deep, and the weather extremely cold."² The little furniture for the shelter (it was only that) was dragged over the snow by men on snowshoes. The shelter was kept warm day and night

¹ Cent. Book, p. 288.

² Memoir, p. 11.

by a big fire of logs before one end of the house, which was mostly open.

From earliest boyhood Abner had religious impressions, and in his ninth year had the soul-racking experience of those days. He was accustomed to resort to secret prayer. The accidental shooting of a man who was hunting deer¹ was followed by a general revival of religion that reached to almost every person in the sparse settlement. Death, judgment, eternity, election—such were common themes with preachers then. Under the preaching of a Baptist exhorter named Snow young Jones was converted. His change he confided to his mother and a “pious neighbor.”

From the thought of baptism he shrank. When fourteen years old he says that he lost hope and fell into great distress of mind, partly due to the influence of a reckless, irreligious, skeptical, elder brother, whom he loved as Jonathan loved David. And so he continued until his twentieth year, living in torment of mind all the time. Lurid hell seemed to gape before him.² To escape himself he plunged into social excesses that pleased a rude society. He even struck out to make his fortune, indulging in such speculation and business as promised alluring returns, only to have every project wither as if touched by a witch's wand. “Dispirited, broken down in health and with pockets utterly empty, with a soul as famishing as Pharaoh's lean kine,”³ he went back home to meet at the door a step-father. For meantime his father had died and his mother had married again. Young Abner was constrained to seek employment. For a time he taught school in Granville, N. Y. Something of his home training can be judged by his religious experience and the further fact that, although he had had but six weeks' schooling in his life, he was now become a school-master, and a creditable one. Later he taught near his Bridgewater home, and was again converted, being baptized in June, 1793, by Elder Elisha Ransom, a Baptist minister. Then

¹ Memoir, p. 12.

² Ibid., p. 19.

³ Ibid., p. 21.

began new torments: something fastened upon him thoughts of the gospel ministry.

Sixteen months of school teaching in Hartland, Vermont, gave him leisure for study and agreeable companionship. He grew into the habit of exhorting in religious meetings resorted to by himself and some kindred spirits. Abner Jones now confronted the question of *what* to preach, if he should become a preacher, and began a most searching study of the Bible. He finally avowed his dissent from Calvinist Baptist views,¹ and experienced the brethren's cold shoulder. So he continued to study, and ere long came to the position which his later life was given to defend. Strangely enough the thought of preaching the gospel was ascribed to devilish temptation.² A different vocation had captivated the young man's mind, and he had determined upon being a physician.³

Jones therefore devoted himself to the study of medicine, spending some time at a medical school in Hanover, N. H., but did not take a regular course. All the time he studied the Bible harder than medical works. However, he became a regular practitioner, and in 1797 or 1798 began professional life in Lyndon, Vermont, marrying Miss Damaris Prior and settling there. His services were much in demand, but the mental struggle still continued.

With the outbreak of a revival in an adjoining town, thought of the gospel ministry returned. He attended the revival meetings, by providential leadings was soon induced to preach in nearby neighborhoods with blessed results, and finally concluded to abandon the medical practice, much to the dissatisfaction of Mrs. Jones and many of his friends. His first sermon was preached in September, 1801, to an audience in a farm house where not a person present was a professing Christian, and used for a text, "But they made light of it."⁴ Following this calls for service came from many directions.

¹ Memoir, p. 27 ff.

² Ibid., p. 22.

³ Autobiog., p. 68.

⁴ Matt. 22: 5.

Heart, soul and body he now threw into the ministry, while worldly prospects vanished.

Before reaching his majority Jones had quit the fellowship of Calvinist Baptists, and had heard Elder Elias Smith preach at New Salisbury, N. H. His conclusions now were crystallized into a church in Lyndon, organized in the fall of 1801, the "first free Christian church" in New England.¹ The members called themselves simply "Christians," without the adjective "the." Jones removed to the town of Lebanon, that part later called West Lebanon, N. H., and continued to travel and preach. In the autumn of 1802 he organized churches at Hanover (then and now the seat of Dartmouth College) and Piermont, N. H.² Both churches have long since disappeared. In November, 1802, three Free Will Baptist preachers ordained him,³ it having been clearly understood that he would not be a Free Will Baptist, but only a Christian. From this time forth his gospel labors were almost incessant in traveling and preaching. Single services lasted six to nine hours. He journeyed to Portsmouth and worked with Elder Elias Smith in much harmony, and induced Smith finally to abandon the name Baptist, and assisted him to organize a "Christian Church" in that city. He preached in the churches of the famous Drs. Stillman and Baldwin in Boston. Jones moved to Boston in 1804, and on July 1 organized another "Christian Church." Great tribulation visited him there on account of his heterodoxy. The rabble disturbed services.⁴ Successive removals followed to Bradford, now part of Haverhill, and to Salem, Mass. His earlier services in Salem were held in a hall at the corner of Essex and English Streets. A reformation began which extended to other societies, until hundreds of accessions had been received into Salem churches. Jones kept private school to support his family, and served the Salem people several years.

¹ Memoir, p. 49.

² Ibid., p. 62.

³ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴ Ibid., p. 66.

With Elders Elias Smith and John Boody, Abner Jones ordained, in Boston, November, 1806, John Rand, a young man who had left Dr. Stillman's church for conscience's sake,¹ and who was the first elder ordained by the Christians in New England.

In 1811 his journeys took him to southern Massachusetts where he assisted in ordaining Benjamin Taylor, who became a well-known minister, made the acquaintance of the Assonet church, which had left the Baptists and joined the Christians, (as did the Baptist church at Dartmouth, under leadership of Rev. Daniel Hix,) and formed lasting friendship with Hix himself.² Leaving Salem, Jones became pastor of the church at Portsmouth, N. H., about the beginning of the war of 1812, although his family was not moved until the next year. Portsmouth was blockaded, kept in terror or alarm much of the time, its inhabitants being often distressed, the general conditions aggravated by the presence of several regiments of troops, and incendiary burning of nearly three hundred dwellings one bitterly cold December night. Jones himself was sometimes penniless and his larder empty; but that was no uncommon plight in Portsmouth then.

Owing to the town's beleaguered condition, and wishing to travel among the churches, Jones moved his family to Stratham, ten miles distant, where they resided for a year. In 1815 his labors began in Hopkinton, N. H., a year rendered memorable by the prevalence of "spotted fever" and a cold season which finally culminated in the famous cold year of 1816. The fever was attributed to the cold years and scanty crops. So terrible were the ravages of the disease in Deerfield, N. H., that appeals were made to Abner Jones to go to assist the local physician. After repeated refusals, he finally went and remained until the pestilence subsided. Hardly had he returned to Hopkinton before fever broke out there, and

¹ Memoir, p. 70, 71.

² Ibid., p. 82.

again he was full of business. As long as he lived there his medical practice continued.

It was at Hopkinton also that Jones banished intoxicating beverages from his home and adopted the principle of total abstinence, much to the disgust and scandal of his townsmen, not to mention the chagrin of Mrs. Jones.¹ He was personally abused in severe fashion, stigmatized a fanatic in temperance and religion, and quack in medicine, although he was member of the New Hampshire Medical Society, and in regular standing. Then, too, Jones became a Free Mason, and some of his ardent admirers broke with him. Hence about 1821 he removed to Salem and a second time ministered to that church. A drooping cause was here revived, the membership enlarged, and a building erected on Herbert Street, which Jones pronounced the most commodious church building he had ever seen.

Death first invaded his home here, taking his youngest daughter Mary, fifteen years of age. In 1829, getting leave of absence from his church, Mr. and Mrs. Jones traveled leisurely to Saratoga and Ballston, N. Y., then to Maysfield, where he was seized with rheumatic fever and brought close to death's door, suffering also a relapse. After weeks of suffering he was able to journey again, and the Joneses proceeded south into Dutchess County. Eventually he was called to serve the church at Milan, in that county. Proceeding to Salem, he resigned that post, parting with his beloved congregation most regretfully, and settling at Milan in 1830, continuing there three years. The next removal was to Assonet, Mass., but intervening and subsequent time was largely occupied with journeys to different states.

Death entered the family again and took away Mrs. Jones in 1836. This affliction left indelible impression upon her husband and shadowed the remainder of his life. He continued to journey and to preach, visiting former parishes, and then

¹ Memoir, pp. 108, 110.

located at Upton, Mass., with a very small and destitute congregation.

In August, 1839, he was married to Mrs. Nancy Clark of Nantucket, removing the next year with his family to Exeter, N. H., intending to make this place his permanent home; and there he invested in a snug little cottage, with funds accumulated by his medical treatment of cancers. Soon his health began to fail and steadily declined until May, 1841, when he passed away. His funeral was held in the chapel of the Christian Society attended by a large company of mourners, friends, and more than twenty clergymen of different denominations. By Dr. Jones's request, Rev. Elijah Shaw, of Lowell, Mass., preached an appropriate funeral discourse.

Such in brief was the career of Rev. Abner Jones, M. D., a man of most excellent character, firm and determined, of scholarly bent, familiar with history, biography, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, all of which he mastered under his own tuition. He was a temperance reformer, religious reformer, a traveling evangelist for many years, an unusually perspicuous speaker and student of the Bible, an organizer of churches, an establisher of the same, and a successful leader in the denomination commonly called "Christian Connection" in New England. Moreover, he was a successful physician, and member of the New Hampshire Medical Society.¹ In him dwelt the spark of poetic genius, and he might have done more than write tolerable verse had he been at liberty to cultivate the muse's acquaintance and indulge his flights of fancy. A number of very creditable poetic productions are printed in the Memoir of Dr. Jones.²

His portrait, taken in middle life, is that of a man of stocky build, vigorous and active. His face and head were of massive mould, the face clean shaven and square; the hair retreated well back from the forehead, the smallish eyes were of piercing keenness, and a Roman nose, together with firmly

¹ Memoir, p. 188.

² Ibid., p. 190-207.

pressed lips, denoted a character at once discerning and firm. Other men have been more brilliant, and his brethren in the ministry overshadowed him in point of eloquence, but few of them wrought more faithfully or surely. Doubtless Abner Jones was more worthy of esteem than the simple record and memoir of his life indicate.

ELIAS SMITH

Near the mouth of the Connecticut River is the famous old town of Lyme, from which have hailed notable men and women. To-day it is beautiful and classic, and from its vantage ground one can look out over Long Island Sound. One hundred and thirty years or more ago the town's inhabitants saw British men-of-war plowing the water of the Sound. But what a different creature is a steel man-of-war with its terrible guns from the old wooden sailing craft with its muzzle-loading cannon!

Back in old Lyme was the birthplace of a baby boy who, as a man, stirred all religious New England (and it was nearly all religious!). In the frame farm house of Stephen and Irene (Ransom) Smith, was born, on the 17th of June, 1769, a baby christened Elias in memory of an uncle killed in the French and Indian War. The father's stock was English and the mother's Welsh. She was a second wife and but nineteen years old when her son was born. Two more sons and two daughters completed the family. The Smiths never were in easy circumstances until their children were grown up, and the utmost frugality was necessary in the household.

Stephen Smith was a Baptist. New England Puritanism reigned in the eighteenth century, and still exacted its rigors, and while the Baptists adhered to Calvinism in doctrine, Calvinism was considered milder than Puritan Congregationalism. Mrs. Smith was first of the latter faith. But both parents died as members of the denomination whose history we are to trace,

and in the forming of which their son was to bear a unique part.¹

The boy's schooling began in his fourth year. A retentive memory compensated somewhat for slow perception. Three months schooling in summer and three in winter was the rule in Lyme then. As early as his seventh year Elias was reading the New Testament, and with acquirement of ability to read was awakened a pleasure in and thirst for learning. School days ended for Elias shortly before his thirteenth year; and subsequently he attended school thirteen days to learn grammar, two days to learn arithmetic and eight evenings to learn music.

Stirring days were found in New England during Elias Smith's boyhood, and Bunker Hill was fought on his sixth birthday.² His eyes often saw the British ships and the smoke of their guns on the Sound, and he was terrified by the boom and roar. War news added to his childish terror. The pulsating religious atmosphere and the trying years of the Revolutionary War were a stimulating combination and moulded character inevitably. And this boy, slowly taking in events and drinking of the prevailing spirit, became introspective. Conscience spoke powerfully. He wept for his sins, in secret read the prayer in his spelling-book, and pondered the preaching he heard in his father's house and elsewhere. Morbid experiences were frequent, and his surroundings afforded no relief. As a man, writing his autobiography, Elias Smith recorded but little of happy childhood impressions, and considerable of the morbid.

A serio-comic episode during his eighth year had a very unexpected denouement, and left a life-long impression. Mrs. Smith, conformably to her Congregational training, desired to have her son baptized by sprinkling; but her husband's Baptist training said, No. All of Mrs. Smith's relatives except one, and he a Baptist preacher, were Congregationalists and believed

¹ *Autob.*, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

also in infant baptism. Hence the perplexed mother had divided counsel. At length with one of her brothers, during her husband's absence, she planned for the christening upon a certain sabbath, and told Mr. Smith of her plan when he returned. Although disapproving, he promised to lay no hindrance in the way. Elias heard and was seized with nameless horror. On the appointed sabbath all the Smiths repaired to the meeting-house three miles distant, and Elias forgot his fear in the joy of meeting companionable cousins. However, when afternoon service was called, he espied a basin of water before the pulpit, and upon inquiry of his elder cousin was told that the water was for christening purposes, and that he was to be baptized. Then he rebelled in spirit and determined to escape the ordeal. When the minister went down the aisle to lead the boys forward, Elias bolted for the meeting-house door, was pursued by his conspirator uncle and overtaken, dragged before the sacred desk, and, pinioned hand and foot, subjected to christening, in spite of frantic struggles.¹ Younger brothers submitted gracefully. Forever after Elias Smith was a sworn antagonist of child-sprinkling. When a year later he saw the first baptism by immersion, he mentally contrasted that ceremony with his own unfortunate experience, and viewed the sight with pleasure from a distance, thinking perhaps he might be forcibly immersed also.² About this time a revival occurred in the neighborhood, and the boy was much exercised in mind, but held his own counsel. His experience then and years afterward was little less than torture.

Early in 1780 the Smiths moved to Hebron and resided more than two years. There Elias practically finished his schooling. He could read indifferently, was entirely ignorant of arithmetic, and had not heard of a dictionary. How he acquired most of his training will be detailed later. The capture of Fort Groton, the burning of New London by the British, and the Indian raid at Royalton, Vt., together with

¹ Autob., p. 28.

² Ibid., p. 29.

much-talked-of celestial phenomena and the awesome preaching heard nearly drove him to despair.

Stephen Smith sold his Connecticut property in the spring of 1782, went to Vermont with one of his boys, and bought one hundred acres of land on a north hillside near that part of town now known as South Woodstock, in Windsor County. He made a clearing, erected walls for a log house, and returned for his family before the house was roofed. It was one hundred eighty miles from Lyme to Woodstock, up the Connecticut valley to the vicinity of the present town of Windsor, and then through valley and swamp and forest and over hills to the new home. The journey occupied thirteen days, was very trying, and Elias walked nearly every step. The new home was in a forest wilderness. At Woodstock green, in the north part of town was a settlement and one or two frame houses; everything else was log house work. Smith and his family started for his clearing and cabin after three or four days' rest, neighbors going to assist him to locate. Only after a hard climb and clearing a road was the rude cabin reached. To-day one may journey to the Smith homestead site up an excellent hill road through woods and past beautiful fern banks or waving clumps of golden rod; but the hillside is still steep and the climb hard. The first sight of Stephen Smith's cabin was positively revolting to his son Elias, who turned and started for Connecticut. Stern commands brought him back however, to share the rude home. Imagine a log house of green logs, without doors, windows, floor or roof, with tall grass inside, and a large stump in the middle, standing in virgin forest. And imagine what had to be done to fit such a home for a severe northern winter, and it was then August. Hardships almost incredible were endured.¹ Provisions were scarce, crops poor. A recital of all privations and misfortunes the new settlers went through would serve little purpose here. In this home we will find them for years, the father seasonably tilling his farm, plying

¹ Autob., pp. 38-44.

the tanner's and shoemaker's trades, Elias and the other boys sharing his labors until near their majority.

In his sixteenth year Elias Smith was introduced to a new world through the kindness of relatives. Several of the Ransoms had moved to Woodstock and located, becoming prominent for several generations, descendants still living there. In 1785 Elisha Ransom, Baptist clergyman, was hired to keep a school during the winter, and his nephew gained one month's schooling, studying Dilworth's grammar, much against his father's wish, learning his lessons while walking two miles back and forth from home to school, or while lying in front of the fireplace reading by firelight. This last practice injured his eyes much. With his uncle's help other studies were pursued, and the kindness was ever remembered.

About this time a deadly scarlet-fever epidemic visited that community and decimated it. Elias was again thrown into religious despair. In the woods, alone, he thought to pray, and then refrained, concluding that perhaps he was elected to be lost. By slipping while carrying a heavy log of wood one day, he was held fast for a time in the snow and stunned. With returning consciousness he experienced what he afterward recognized as regeneration and the practical beginning of a Christian life. It was a day to reckon from, and later influenced his preaching.¹

Then Smith became exercised about baptism, hunted his Bible through in vain to find warrant for infant baptism, and finally concluded that immersion was the proper mode. His eighteenth summer was spent working for his conspirator-uncle, at odd times reading his uncle's logic, rhetoric and other books, which were his constant diversion. Hard labor and constant mental application damaged his health and necessitated cessation from his employment. Later Smith was hired to teach a month's school near home, at \$4 a month and board. His appearance as schoolmaster was rather rueful, yet he

¹ He enlarges upon this, p. 60 ff.

acquitted himself satisfactorily, and applied himself to learning. He attended school ten days in his eighteenth winter to learn arithmetic, and then engaged to teach again, at intervals, even returning to Connecticut for a few months and making the journey in singular destitution.¹ His short stay in Springfield, Mass., was his first real glimpse of the world, which appeared exceedingly strange. During this trip and visit he frequented religious meetings, taking careful note and making pungent mental criticism. Smith himself was almost unconsciously drawn toward the ministry and much of the time in deep study.

Returning to Woodstock he taught school, was baptized, joined the Baptist church, swallowing "articles of belief" and all.² Then followed a long fight against preaching the gospel. Reading sermons at services when no minister was present accustomed the twenty-one-year-old youth to standing before audiences. Getting leave from the school committee, Smith attended several Baptist associations in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, to much profit. When just past his twenty-first birthday, he preached his first sermon in the home of Deacon Lawrence near the Woodstock-Hartland town line. Solicitation caused him to overcome his bashfulness and several times "improve" his talent in that neighborhood. And so by degrees he began his public ministry.

Induced by a dream and urging of Samuel Stone, of Piermont, N. H., who had gone clear to Woodstock to fetch Smith, Elias went to Piermont, and Bradford, Vt., and preached several times. Returning to Woodstock, he called his school together, took an affectionate leave of the pupils and journeyed back to New Hampshire.

Smith as Minister of the Word.—Smith's ministerial life was fraught with adventure and romantic hardship, a tempestuous career for the next fifteen years, or until 1816. Our young preacher went from Vermont's green hills into New

¹ Autob., p. 102 ff.

² Ibid., p. 131.

Hampshire. During six or seven weeks he had preached in several places, received half a crown (fifty-five cents, the first money received as a minister), and revisited his Woodstock home. Immediately the tongue of slander circulated ruinous reports, and that tongue never ceased its baleful work until Elias quit the active ministry. On his return trip to Haverhill, N. H., he was first urged to adopt a system of theology—advice that proved torment. Seasons of depression and distress over doctrine followed him persistently.

We cannot mention each itinerary, for his career took him pretty much all over New England and as far south as Virginia. His journeys were almost incredible in number. In 1791 and 1792 Smith preached mostly in eastern New Hampshire, in Lee, Stratham, and thereabouts, and was effective and sought after. By the generosity of Capt. Hill, of Lee, Smith, then twenty-two years old, had his first broadcloth clothes, but never was reconciled to their black color, which seemed to him fit for a coffin, but not for a live man. He had learned to despise bitterly everything from the title "reverend" to powdered wig and sermon notes that pertained to "established" clergymen,¹ whether Congregational or Episcopalian, or of other faiths. Dr. Samuel Shepherd and Dr. Stillman, famous divines, and other celebrities of Smith's day were acquaintances. Smith himself was made bearer of letters calling a council for his ordination in July, 1792, and made his first visit to Charlestown, Cambridge and Boston on that account. The confusion of street traffic in Boston so affected him that he turned back and spent the first night outside Charlestown,² and words cannot describe his trepidation when entering an elegant city church for the first time to preach. In August, 1792, Elias Smith was ordained at Lee, a large concourse of people being present, and went on preaching as before. Samuel Hopkins' famous Body of Divinity had just been issued, awakening great controversy. In general Smith was wise enough to stick to

¹ *Autob.*, pp. 206, 279.

² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

plain Scriptural statements and avoid controversy. He invented his own interpretation of the doctrine of election, and later ascribed his lapse into Universalism to his compromise.

In January, 1793, Elias Smith and Mary Burleigh, fifth daughter of Josiah Burleigh, of Newmarket, N. H., were married, she being then past nineteen years old, and he being past twenty-three, Dr. Samuel Shepherd performing the ceremony. They lived together twenty-one years, until her death in Philadelphia. They had absolutely nothing with which to begin housekeeping, and Mr. Burleigh provided. A new pastorate had been begun at Salisbury, N. H., where they established a home with some gifts from their new parishioners. Wherever Smith went revivals sprang up, in Salisbury and towns near and distant. But Smith became very unhappy in Salisbury. In fact, he never could endure a settled pastorate. He visited Woburn, Mass., by invitation, and engaged to preach there two-thirds of the time until spring, 1797; but immediately changed his mind and went back to Salisbury. While digging potatoes one day he resolved to sever his pastoral tie in Salisbury, come life or death. Bad feeling was engendered, but Smith was free—free to entangle himself again. He engaged with Woburn at \$333.33 per year, once more, moving there in 1798. Being in Rome he began to conform to Roman manner of dress and other matters, all of which were galling. A council dressed in black installed him, in which were two D. D.'s and one or two M. A.'s and all wore "bands." Smith loathed the whole proceeding.¹ And now followed trouble enough. Salary was not paid. In time the Society loaned Smith \$1,000, with part of which he entered a business partnership in Woodstock, Vt. Clerical fashions distressed him. The trinity and election were worse than Banquo's ghost; but election, special and particular, won the day, and was proclaimed by Smith to the scandal of many. A sense of bondage was again irking him,²

¹ Autob., p. 279.

² Ibid., p. 287.

and once more the tie was snapped. Elias Smith went back to Salisbury, N. H., to share in a store business which had been removed to that place. He had to sacrifice his Woburn property, and was nearly stripped by his former parishioners.

This removal to Salisbury was in the fall of 1801. Uriah Smith, a younger brother of Elias, recently converted to Universalism, visited in Salisbury, and soon Elias was preaching Universalism, which he embraced *for fifteen days* on his first excursion to that unknown world.¹ He had previously abandoned Calvinism, and swung to the other extreme. He was miserable. What should he do? A sweet voice said, "Drop both (Calvinism and Universalism) and search the Scriptures." Smith then publicly renounced Universalism. He had lost his theology. Business was as galling as a settled pastorate. War between France and England depreciated prices of imported goods, and his company faced bankruptcy. Smith turned his business and house to his partners, who assumed all liability. This left him a horse, chaise, and household effects, and the two former were given to creditors after the family was carried to Newmarket. Six hundred dollars of private debts hung over him. Woburn debts were also pressed and paid by note.

His family was brought to Portsmouth to reside in 1802, just before the great fire that burned much of the town and Jefferson Hall, where he had been holding services. Meetings were then transferred to the courthouse, where Smith held his first communion services after the New Testament fashion. Persecutions were visited upon him—stoning of his new meeting-house, which had been erected, smashing windows, throwing assafœtida into the room, uproarious conduct like Bedlam let loose, disturbance at baptisms, attempts to draw the preacher from his pulpit, reviling and abuse on the streets.

Once more Smith was stripped of possessions, this time by Salisbury people, although he owed them nothing. And now

¹ Autob., p. 292.

followed his association with Abner Jones, and formation of the Christian Church in Portsmouth, persecution by fellow ministers, especially in Boston, his citation to appear before the Woburn Baptist church, of which he was still a member, and his final and formal withdrawal from that church and Baptist fellowship.¹ And still his labors in traveling, preaching and writing were almost Herculean.

One week in June Smith was out of town from Monday to Wednesday evening. On going to the meeting-house he found it beset by a mob, rioting, and returned home without preaching. A letter thrust into his hand threatened tar and feathers. Next day a mob waited upon him beneath a printing office, and a friend took up an axe for Smith's use. He was accused of writing a pamphlet issued while he was out of town, describing an Episcopalian priest, but was innocent, of course.² A committee waited on him and were satisfied with his disclaimer. The mob let him return home. That evening a large crowd of friends escorted him to church and return, and guarded him while preaching, and his house through the night. An evening before President Jefferson's inaugural Smith preached "The Whole World Governed by a Jew," and angry enemies became raging. However, town authorities interfered to preserve order. The real author of the pamphlet that precipitated all the above trouble was later discovered.

Smith as a Journalist.—At this point we find our subject turning to journalism, in which field he was able and brilliant. Having already published considerable, he conceived and executed a plan for a regular periodical in which he might express his views, and in 1805 commenced *The Christian's Magazine, Reviewer and Religious Intelligencer*, containing subjects historical, doctrinal, experimental, practical and poetical, thirty-six pages, in size four and one-half by seven and one-half inches, issued once in three months. Popular sermons were mercilessly criticised in the *Magazine*.

¹ *Autob.*, p. 341.

² *Ibid.*, p. 349.

He next occupied himself three weeks with an illustration of the prophecies, which he first preached and then published, the twenty-two sermons making a book of 300 pages. While in Little Compton, R. I., he had a proposal from Isaac Wilber, Esq., Member of Congress, to conduct a religious newspaper to advocate religious liberty, and with others Wilber offered liberal help. He declined proffered assistance, not wishing to abridge his own liberty of action or utterance. But September 1, 1808, he issued the first number of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, a folio nine by eleven inches in size, subscription price \$1.50 per year, at Portsmouth, N. H. Its name was indicative of its purpose, and it was a religious newspaper from the first, and the first of its kind in all the world, so far as is known. Two hundred seventy-four subscribers were on the first list, and fifteen hundred in 1815.

Being now no longer able to get a printer in Portsmouth, he hired his publishing done in Exeter, N. H. He made a trip to Maine, preaching at several places, and formed a church at Portland, whither he moved his family in 1810. This move he always regretted. The *Herald of Gospel Liberty* was published at Portland, and Smith had purchased an office. Induced by Elder Frederick Plummer, Smith went to Philadelphia on a visit, and was influenced to settle there, moving in the summer of 1811, locating in Christian Street. The paper was issued with reasonable regularity, notwithstanding its editor's many itineraries. A year later he was writing a "New Testament Dictionary," his most difficult piece of work. Freed from this five months' job, he visited Virginia, then Vermont and other New England states, making a two-thousand-mile tour.

Sickness afflicted Mrs. Smith and the eldest daughter, and he was badly involved in debt, gradually losing everything he had. His publishing ventures were very expensive. Another trip to New England, collecting money due him, helped a little. He was stricken with typhus fever, and recovered slowly, being yet unable to journey to Philadelphia, but going instead to

Portsmouth. Hither his family should come. Then word reached him that his daughter and wife were ill of typhus, and later word conveyed intelligence of the wife's death, February 27, 1814. Six children, one married, were left motherless. When able the stricken father returned to his family, and planned for removal to New England. Three children were left in Philadelphia for some time. Near the close of this year, Elias Smith was married to Rachel Thurber, of Providence, R. I. They took up residence in Portsmouth within a few weeks, and once more Smith was stripped of possessions, even to table cutlery; but the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* he still retained and published.

The first half of 1815 was occupied with writing his autobiography, although that was not given to the public until 1816. This year he moved to Boston.

He openly espoused Universalism for a second time, much to the scandal of his many friends.¹ Other changes were being pondered, too. When friends recovered from their consternation, a storm of protest arose, and Elias Smith was again a man without fellowship. The Christians shrank from him: the Universalists did not really trust him.²

A consecrated layman of the Christians, Robert Foster, bought the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, moved it back to Portsmouth, and published it as the *Christian Herald*, bringing out his first issue in May, 1818.

Smith as Thomsonian Physician.—Smith probably had another reason for changing his occupation: his critics charged that financial difficulties drove him to a change. He was almost always in financial chaos; he traveled and published much; he had but meager support from churches and his paper; and he had a large family to provide for. When settled in Boston he formed a business connection with the famous Dr. Samuel Thomson, of that city, originator of the "Thomsonian System" of medicine and therapeutics. At one time Smith

¹Autob., edition of 1840, p. 359.

²Ibid., p. 360.

had been treated by the Thomsonian method,¹ and was so pleased with the results that he inquired into the "system." As Dr. Thomson's pupil he soon mastered the theory and materia medica and fell into a lucrative practice, led on by repeated calls from sick people, although he had intended to practice only in his family and among friends. Calls from outside the city led him to establish a private hospital or sanitarium, about 1830, where both men and women were boarded and treated, at No. 54 High Street, between Federal and Atkinson. Very remarkable cures were advertised, including goitre, dropsy, lock-jaw, rheumatism, consumption, dyspepsia, leprosy, and minor ailments.² He also published two medical works, "The People's Book" and "The American Physician and Family Assistant," copies of which are still extant. The third edition of the latter was issued in 1832.

When Dr. Smith embraced Universalism in 1817, the Portsmouth church withdrew fellowship from their former beloved pastor. When the New Hampshire Christian Conference convened at Gilford, in 1823, Dr. Smith publicly renounced the abhorred "ism," explaining how he fell into it. Before the same body at Durham, 1827, he made a similar renouncement, and at sundry times thereafter; but he could not recover fellowship with his old comrades, for they were always suspicious of him. And justly so, for he relapsed a third and fourth time into the doctrine of universal salvation.³ When Rev. Hosea Ballou became a resident of Boston, Smith formed his acquaintance, and in 1819 published a book, "The Judgment of this World: The Prince of this World Cast Out, and all Men Drawn to Christ," advocating Ballou's doctrines. The *Herald of Life and Immortality*, a quarterly magazine, he devoted to some phases of Universalist tenets. Ten years later, 1829, Smith published *The Morning Star and City Watchman*, and other

¹ Autobi., 1840, p. 358.
Anson Titus, D. D., of the Universalist Historical Society.

² American Physician, pp. 9, 10.

³ So Rev.

writings were issued by him. Five medical volumes are credited to him.

In his old age, while yet active and vigorous, and expecting to do service still in the cause of Christ, Smith was received into fellowship by the Christian Church in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1840, and into the ministry of the Christian denomination, in which relation he continued until his death. From 1840 to 1846 he lived mostly with a daughter in Providence, Rhode Island, but died in Lynn, Mass., June 29, 1846, at a ripe age of 77 years.¹

The career of this man was very remarkable and very romantic and checkered. As a minister of the Gospel he had remarkable success in revival work, but failed as a settled pastor. As a reformer he was extreme in denunciation, but utterly fearless in championing what he believed was the truth. Through all his vagaries he clung to the Bible as inspired and God-given. He had a true vision of religious liberty, and never lost opportunity to declare his position. When traveling and lecturing on Thomsonian medicine, he also preached as occasion offered itself. As a journalist and author he was both prolific and brilliant, compelling attention. In the medical profession he won success and notoriety. Had his education been commensurate with his ability, his life-story would read much differently. With a character above reproach, a tender conscience, and a keen sense of liberty, he preserved his manhood through every trial. His labors were prodigious, and in the early nineteenth century New England he was a commanding figure. His portrait published in 1816 indicates a stature a little above medium, a well-knit body endowed with great power of endurance; his forehead was high, with hair combed well back; the features strong, prominent, with some irregularity of outline; the eyes rather severe and showing effects of early strain and soreness. As a speaker his presence was commanding and his address engaging; for he spoke entirely

¹ Modern Light Bearers, p. 216.

without notes, with natural voice and ease, avoiding the boisterous manner then quite common with ministers declaiming off-hand.

BARTON WARREN STONE

Barton Warren Stone was born near Port Tobacco, Md., December 24, 1772, the son of John and Mary (Warren) Stone. John Stone died when his son was of tender years, and the boy never knew a father's care. Mrs. Stone, left with a large family, thought to provide for them by moving to that new country, then "called the backwoods of Virginia," and with her large family and many servants she settled near the Dan River in Pittsylvania County, eighty miles below Blue Mountain, in southwestern Virginia. This emigration was in 1779, and into a country quite undeveloped, among people of Arcadian simplicity, where courts of justice were rare, lynch law common, pleasure and sports simple, religion at low ebb, the clergy frivolous.

Young Stone's brothers were Revolutionary soldiers, and the stirring scenes of those days were indelibly written on the boy's mind. Generals Green and Cornwallis met in terrible conflict at Guilford Court House, N. C., only thirty miles from Mrs. Stone's farm. And when war ended people's immoralities were still further deepened by vices the soldiers took home. Barton drank deep of liberty's spirit, and could hardly brook the name "Tory."

His schooling began early, but to little profit, under a tyrannical schoolmaster. Only most elementary branches were taught, and Stone was soon pronounced proficient in them. Great love for books possessed him, but books themselves were rare. The Bible was read in school until he became familiar with and tired of it.

With the close of war "priests' salaries were abolished," and most of the Episcopalian clergy returned to England. Wicked men still more abounded. Baptist and Methodist

preachers entered the country and marked revivals followed. Barton acknowledged himself affected by their preaching. Multitudes attended the ministrations of those Baptist and Methodist preachers, and many were immersed, to the wonderment of the people of those parts. Stone was much affected also by the relation of converts' experience. In general the work of those preachers benefitted society greatly. The Methodists were especially opposed by the Episcopalians, but were joined in their opposition by the Baptists.¹ Noticing all this, the boy was much disturbed in his mind, became discouraged, quit praying and plunged into youthful sports.

About his sixteenth year the father's estate was divided among the family, and Barton determined to become a barrister and to secure ample preparatory training. Hence he repaired to Guilford Academy in North Carolina, 1790, for study, applied himself indefatigably, denying himself proper food; with the natural result—high rank in class and impaired health. About thirty students had been converted under the moving preaching of the awkward, uncouth James McGready, of terrible visage, a Presbyterian preacher of some renown. Although conscience-smitten for it, young Stone avoided the pious and consorted with the impious element, even contemplating removal to Hampden-Sidney College, in Virginia, to escape religious influences. However, after a year's soul-racking travail, he was converted, and lived a Christian life the rest of his school days. About this time Stone began to realize how expensive an education was. His funds were exhausted; he had lost most of his patrimony, was unable to clothe himself decently or to secure such books as he wished. He therefore thought to quit school, but was encouraged to continue by the master of the school.

The "dead languages" and science were pleasant studies and he easily mastered them.

Stone's conversion greatly changed his future career. By

¹ Blog., p. 5.

advice of Dr. Caldwell, of Guilford Academy, he became a candidate for licensure in Orange Presbytery, in 1793, but utterly failed in preparing a thesis on the Trinity, notwithstanding his familiarity with the Bible from early boyhood.¹ With brooding over the theme he became confused and decided to abandon the idea of being a minister. Just as the fiery, even lurid, periods of McGready only benumbed his spirit and depressed him, so the dogmatic theology assigned to him for study likewise depressed Stone, and influenced him to abandon the sacred calling. As abstruse theory the dogmatics seemed logical and assuring, but they differed widely from what the young candidate read in his Bible.

Gathering up worldly possessions, Stone started for a brother's home in Oglethorpe County, Georgia, and was ill there for several months. By this brother's good offices Barton became professor of languages in a Methodist academy, near Washington, Georgia, under the leadership of Hope Hull, a distinguished Methodist preacher. This was in 1795, and the venture was eminently successful.

But danger lay in his success and the social swirl of the coterie to which his attainments admitted him; therefore he forced himself to deny flattering associations, and betook himself to Christian devotion. Continuing in his position until 1796, he then resigned, returned to North Carolina, received license to preach, and an appointment to travel in the southern part of the state with Robert Foster, a young man licensed at the same time. When the license was granted, a venerable father addressed the candidates, gave each a copy of the Bible, and said: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,"² This incident had a lasting effect on Stone. Young Foster abandoned his ministry upon reaching his field, and his companion resolved to do the same and to proceed to Florida. The next day he mounted his horse and started, but was providentially turned toward Tennessee. In Wythe

¹ Blog., p. 12 ff.

² Ibid., p. 16.

County, Virginia, he chanced upon an old acquaintance, and was constrained to preach in that vicinity and Montgomery County for several weeks. Over the mountains he journeyed by easy stages to Knoxville, and then on to Nashville, meeting with strange adventures, and being in danger from Indians. When near Nashville he again encountered old friends from North Carolina. Now began his preaching circuits through the Cumberland country, enlivened by encounters with ruffians and deists and border characters. Stone was always equal to the occasion.¹

Having completed his labors in Tennessee, he proceeded with a colleague across a wilderness country to Cane Ridge and Concord, Kentucky, continuing there a year, and finally settling as permanent pastor, seeing great results from his steady methodical ministry.

During the fall of 1797, business called him to Georgia, and he was given a mission in behalf of the infant Transylvania University. His way was through country infested with Indians and bandits. The horrible conditions which he saw among negro slaves during this trip determined him to abandon slavery.² Having completed his mission in Georgia, and made a visit to his mother in Virginia, Stone returned to his Kentucky congregations.

In the fall of 1798, a day was set for Stone's ordination. Preparatory thereto he studied the Presbyterian confession of faith, but stumbled over the Trinity, election, reprobation, foreordination, etc., and determined to forego ordination. He was persuaded to proceed, and in public examination declared his acceptance of the confession so far as it seemed consistent with the word of God, and received ordination without objection. A long struggle and unhappy months ensued; but Stone ultimately threw overboard Calvinism and found light in the Bible.³

James McGready and other Presbyterian preachers were holding remarkable religious revivals in Logan County, south-

¹ Blog., p. 21 ff.

² Ibid., p. 27.

³ John 20:31 gave him the light.

western Kentucky, in 1801. This was about the beginning of the great revival. Barton Stone went to see for himself, and saw the wild physical manifestations which later characterized his own work at Concord and Cane Ridge. While the revival progressed, in July, the same year, he went to Virginia and married Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Col. William and Tabitha Campbell, and hurried back to meetings that were appointed at Cane Ridge. Here was the scene of a great revival.

The Ridge is an elevated water-shed running northwest and southeast. Then it was heavily timbered, except for the clearing where a log meeting-house was erected. A considerable space among the forest trees was cleared for seats and camps, and rude platforms were constructed in several places to serve as preachers' stands. A motley concourse of people, estimated at twenty to thirty thousand, from all parts of Kentucky, the Cumberland country and southern Ohio, gathered and camped round about the meeting-house, covering many acres of land. Stone preached day and night, and at times five or six other ministers were similarly engaged.¹ The wild scenes that followed have long since become well-known to readers of these pages. For the most part the Presbyterians frowned upon and opposed the revival, quite largely on account of its excitement and strange manifestations. Some Presbyterian preachers were engaged in the work, however, and preached the heresy of free salvation minus election.

Stone's excessive labors at Cane Ridge left him spitting blood and greatly reduced in strength, but soon he frequented the revival at Paris, seven miles distant.

Richard McNemar, John Thompson, and John Dunlavy, of Ohio, Robert Marshall and B. W. Stone were all preaching free grace as a result of the revival impetus. Both their doctrines and the revival movement were violently opposed by the staid Presbyterian elders.² Finally McNemar was

¹ Rogers, p. 56. Stone, p. 135. ² Davidson, pp. 140, 224.

brought to book by the Washington Presbytery of Ohio for heretical preaching. His case was appealed to the Synod at Lexington, Kentucky, in the manner described in another chapter. When it became evident that the case was going against McNemar, the men named above withdrew from their Presbytery and joined in organizing a new Presbytery, which was only a new tyranny, and soon dissolved, leaving to the world its famous "Last Will and Testament." The dissenters wrote "The Apology of the Springfield Presbytery," which produced great effect, and was reprinted by Methodists in Virginia. They finally adopted the name "Christians." Stone recast his theology to accord with his new profession, eliminating nearly every vestige of Calvinism.¹

Later they prepared "Observations on Church Government," the formulation of which rested largely with Stone, who became the object of general attack as an arch heretic. At this distance it is hard to realize the bitterness and malignity manifested toward him, or to conceive the amount of persecution he was subjected to. Synod and Presbytery forbade their adherents to worship with the "Christians."

No sooner had the din of this conflict begun to subside, than Shaker missionaries appeared and took from the Christians Matthew Houston, Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy.² Stone followed the Shakers from church to church, night and day laboring to keep people from being misled; but hundreds were ensnared. When serenity and prosperity again supervened, Marshall and Thompson went back to the Presbyterians, and Stone stood alone.

In 1809 Barton W., Jr., died, and the next spring his mother. The home was broken up. In 1811 Stone married Celia W., daughter of Capt. William and Mary Bowen, near Nashville, Tennessee. This woman was cousin of the first wife. About this time Stone studied Hebrew with a learned Prussian Jew, a doctor. Events came fast now. To secure

¹ Blog., pp. 50-64.

² Davidson, pp. 166, 207. Stone, pp. 63, 64.

a livelihood, he taught in a highly respected school at Lexington; then was principal of Rittenhouse Academy at Georgetown, gathering a church at that town of nearly three hundred members.

The churches rightly concluded that such a man would be valuable in the field, and induced him to quit teaching and enter evangelistic work, in which his efforts were greatly blessed. However, he was not properly supported, and found it necessary to locate again, conducting a private academy at Georgetown. Reuben Dooley and Stone held a great revival in Eaton, Preble County, Ohio, and then Stone traveled among the frontier settlements. At various times he went into Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, preaching.

Vital consequences to him and his reputation grew out of Alexander Campbell's appearance in Kentucky in 1824.¹ He became acquainted with Campbell and found that they had much common ground in gospel labor. He declared himself pleased with much of Campbell's doctrines, yet he says, in his autobiography, that the doctrines had long been taught by the Christians, by his co-workers and himself.²

In 1826 he started a paper called the *Christian Messenger*, and continued its publication until 1844, missing some issues during his removal west and his subsequent sickness. The particular thing for which Stone is remembered is his famous "union" with the followers of Campbell, who had come to be called the Disciples of Christ. The first day of January, 1832, at Stone's new brick church, near the corner of Mill and High (then Hill) Streets, Lexington, Kentucky, the Christians and Disciples met and formed the famous "union," of which more will be said in a later chapter. Stone represented the Christians and J. T. Johnson and John Smith the Disciples. When he moved to Jacksonville, Illinois, Stone found both denominations at work there, and was instrumental in bringing them

¹ *Biog.*, p. 140.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

together into one church. He continued to set forth his union theories in his paper during all these years.

A paralytic shock disabled him in 1841, and from it he never fully recovered. While on a visit to friends in Missouri where he had preached in previous years, he was seized with a fatal illness and died November 9, 1844. Not long before this he had revisited the scenes of former labors in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana, and his journey had seemed much like a farewell. His beloved Cane Ridge church had his remains conveyed to Kentucky and interred in the little burial ground which surrounds the old meeting-house. A marble shaft was erected above the grave, and stands there to-day, signifying the resting place of the famous champion of religious liberty.

The *Christian Messenger* was not so vigorous a publication as other journals of the denomination, but in it Stone staunchly defended his own ground. Some other writings of his have also been published, and altogether he put before the reading public a large amount of literature. It was characterized by a peculiar grace and mildness, which probably won without offending his hearers.

The great leader's personal appearance is described as follows:¹ "He is rather small in stature, but thickset and well proportioned, light complexion, hair curly, has a pleasant blue eye, expressive of great sensibility, his voice bold and commanding, his gestures natural and easy, his sermons characteristic and instructive. He never leaves any part of his text unexplained, and seldom do his hearers go away uninstructed." This was written in 1825, at which time Stone was clerk of what was called the Kentucky Christian Conference. He was first and last a scholar, a successful educator and minister of the Gospel: by force of circumstances, a religious reformer, an apologist of ability, and a journalist. Friends testify to the humility of his bearing, his perfect frankness and honesty, his intense piety, his great firmness and perseverance.

¹ Chris. Her., Vol. IX, p. 51.

DAVID PURVIANCE

In David Purviance we have a different type of man from the others whose lives are here sketched. He was the son of Col. John and Jane (Wasson) Purviance, and was born November 14, 1766, in Iredell County, North Carolina, being one of eleven children.

Colonel Purviance was a native of Pennsylvania, and settled in Rowan (now Iredell) County, North Carolina, in 1764, when the country was new, and when a living was wrested from the soil only by severe labor. He was a man of some note and ability, serving as justice of the peace for several years, and winning a colonelcy for excellent services in the Revolutionary army. In the fall of 1791 he moved with his family to Sumner County, Tennessee, then nearly a wilderness, subject to frequent incursions of Indians, who plundered and murdered the settlers. John, second son of Colonel Purviance, was shot and scalped near his own dooryard, leaving a bride of a few months. Alarmed by this loss, the family moved to Bourbon County, Kentucky, residing there until 1800, when the Colonel went back to Wilson County, Tennessee. Both Colonel Purviance and his wife were exemplary Presbyterians up to the time of the famous Kentucky revival; and when the Cumberland division transpired, both sided with and joined that church. They raised and educated three sons and eight daughters.

David, the oldest son, was given as good schooling as the country then afforded, and was apt to learn, making excellent progress. He learned the longer and shorter catechisms. When twelve years old he attended a seminary in North Carolina, presided over by a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Hall, and studied science, Latin, Greek, and such other branches as would prepare him for the ministry. His schooling was considerably interrupted by Revolutionary War vicissitudes and the necessity of helping support the family while his father fought for

liberty. And yet David was very proficient as a student. Severe study broke his health, and hindered further schooling. A little later the youth engaged in teaching Latin, Greek, and common literary branches.

In his twenty-third year Purviance married Mary, daughter of John and Martha Ireland, both of Irish descent, and engaged in farming, settling on the south fork of the Yadkin River. When Colonel Purviance moved west into Tennessee in 1791, to Sumner County, David and his family joined the colony, and settled on Cumberland River, near Nashville. This was on the frontier, and Indian atrocities and depredations were occasional happenings. After his brother John was shot and scalped while at work in the field, David's family also removed to Bourbon County, Kentucky, locating on Cane Ridge, three miles south of the meeting-house. David had a task before him. Bourbon County is now a fine agricultural region, rolling and picturesque; but one hundred twenty years ago cane brakes and verdant forests occupied the land. To farm and get a living, he must subdue this wilderness with his own hands, since from principle he was not a slave owner;¹ and right manfully he buckled to the task, erecting a dwelling, clearing land and making a living sufficient for his family. For several years he devoted himself to this service.

Kentucky was much distracted by Oyer and Terminer Court decisions about land titles, and the Court's abuses brought about its abolishment in 1795. Certain lawyers sought to re-establish that court, which agitation greatly concerned state elections of 1797. The son of Governor Garrard was put forth as legislative candidate in Bourbon County, by those wishing the court re-established. David Purviance's friends urged him to stand for election on the other side and both he and Garrard were elected. For some time, when the Legislature convened, John Breckinridge seemed the ruling spirit,² and he introduced a bill to revive the Oyer and Ter-

¹ Blog., p. 17.

² Ibid., p. 21.

miner Court, making a telling speech in its favor at the "psychological moment." No champion appeared for the opposition, until finally, after much persuasion, David Purviance arose and addressed the speaker of the Legislature, much to the astonishment of everybody. Even his friends trembled and gasped, and Breckinridge himself had a mean fling at his uncouth opponent in homespun. However, Purviance clearly worsted Breckinridge, and helped to defeat the proposed measure. This was probably the most intense and dramatic incident in David's life. At a later session, he also overpowered the famous Felix Grundy in debate, and estopped undesirable legislation. He served several terms in the Kentucky legislature, and was regarded as a champion of rural interests,¹ being prominent as long as he remained. He failed of election to the constitutional convention, in 1799, because he kept no slaves and favored gradual emancipation; but was re-elected to the Legislature and served the last time in 1802 and 1803.

David Purviance had already purposed to become a minister of the Gospel, and, therefore, was compelled to part company with his political career. Here belongs the story of the great Kentucky revival, so far as our subject was concerned. Of that marvelous phenomenon, mention has been made in the sketch of Barton W. Stone, and more will be said in a following chapter. Several thousand people are said to have been awakened, creating a most extraordinary demand for preachers and pastors. In one case several young men,² without theological training, were ordained and pressed into the ministry without sectarian indoctrination, and with consequent disregard of Calvinistic Presbyterianism. By degrees, opposition arose, and heterodox preachers were likely to be called to account. When charges were lodged against Richard McNemar before the Washington Presbytery, of Ohio, the case was appealed to the synod at Lexington, Kentucky. We have

¹ Blog., p. 32.
P. 229.

² Davidson speaks of seventeen "illiterate exhorters."

already mentioned the withdrawal of five Presbyterian preachers from the Presbytery when it appeared the case was going against McNemar. David Purviance, who had been ruling elder in Cane Ridge Church, imbibed the free-salvation ideas preached by the seceders, and immediately withdrew by letter from the Presbytery and joined the newly organized Springfield Presbytery.

At this time Purviance opposed that national and popular sin, slavery, maintaining the rights of the oppressed, down-trodden African. He never had owned slaves, but both his father and father-in-law had. Under his influence, both men liberated their slaves, and the majority of Cane Ridge church members did likewise.

With great zeal David Purviance entered upon his ministry. He was large and tall, with strong constitution, prominent high forehead, large nose and heavy chin. His features denoted strong character and great intellectuality; his voice was strong and his manner forceful and energetic. Night and day he preached, exhorted, sang and prayed, convincing many by his demeanor that he was very enthusiastic. He is said to have practiced setting apart a day, before preaching, for deep research, investigation, fasting, prayer and meditation. Consequently, he went to his task thoroughly prepared. In his early preaching career his circumstances were very poor, and his children were compelled to assist their mother to support the family while their father traveled in Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Ohio, preaching the Gospel. In 1806, he bought a tract of land in Preble County, Ohio, sending his son Levi to make some improvements during the summer. A colony had emigrated from Cane Ridge to Preble County, which was then a frontier, more Indians being in evidence than white people. In the fall of 1807, Purviance moved to Preble County, and organized a church with perhaps twenty-five members, largely composed of people from Cane Ridge Church. This settlement was at New Paris, probably named from Paris, Ken-

tucky. His ministrations were not confined exclusively to the new church, but he preached on the frontiers of Ohio and Indiana, suffering much in his travels, because of sparsely settled country and bad roads. Perhaps even worse than these sufferings were those inflicted by men who ridiculed the doctrines preached by Purviance and his fellow-workers.

The autumn of 1809 saw Purviance elected to the legislature as representative for Montgomery and Preble Counties. The next year he went to the Senate for a two years' term. In 1812 he was re-elected senator by Preble, Dark and Miami counties, serving them four years; and gradually the whole State became aware of his value as a legislator, capable of defending the rights of all classes and thoroughly insistent on doing right. He was one of few men trusted to draw up bills for legislative enactment. His influence was cast for establishment of a State Penitentiary, for location of Miami University at Oxford, and for repeal of the so-called "Black Laws" of the State of Ohio. These laws concerned negroes within the state, both free and slave.

But his main labor all along was as pastor and minister. The church at New Paris grew so large that it swarmed and formed a new church called Shiloh, both congregations remaining under Purviance's pastoral care until near the close of his life. Then the Reformers, or Campbellites, as they were called, succeeded in dividing both churches, much to the aged pastor's distress. In 1843 Barton W. Stone visited New Paris while protracted meetings were in session, and the meeting of the two old champions of religious liberty was most affecting, as they fell upon one another's necks. And so Purviance's life melted in service of his country, the commonwealth and his churches, until the gradual dissolution of his body. His wife, Mary Purviance, had died in the year 1835. In August, 1847, his health declined rapidly, and almost without a struggle he dropped from this present existence. He was a man of dauntless courage, well trained mind and statesman-like grasp;

always humble, he was ready to give others precedence. His fifteen terms of service in the Kentucky and Ohio legislatures entitle him to lasting remembrance and gratitude. For more than forty years he was a popular, persuasive minister of the Gospel and herald of peace among brethren. During his last years his heart was in the Washingtonian temperance reform. To the young Christian denomination he was a tower of strength.

WILLIAM KINKADE

About the close of the Revolutionary War western Pennsylvania was still in a state of crude settlement. Students of history will readily recall events illustrating the backward social and industrial conditions of that country. To some unnamed locality in the western part of the Keystone state we must now turn; for into a poor home in that nameless locality was born a baby boy on the 22nd day of September, 1783, who was named William Kinkade. In writing a brief sketch of his life, Kinkade, as a mature man, did not even give us the names of his parents. He says laconically that he was born and lived a few years in the "backwoods" of the state and section mentioned. And then when the boy was about three years old, his parents left the backwoods and settled upon a frontier, this time in Kentucky. He grew up in the Kentucky wilds in the days of Indian war and scares, and saw lawlessness and barbarity a plenty.

Of his education but the briefest mention is made, indicating that the best of his early schooling was obtained at the knees of his mother who gave him also his earliest religious impressions, and seems to have taught him out of the New Testament. What little actual schooling he received as a boy was exceedingly rudimentary, and the text-book in use was also the New Testament. The Kinkades were connected with the Presbyterian church and William's mother taught him the "Mother's Catechism," and the others; but he remarks that he

never believed all they contained. Nevertheless as a little lad he was religiously inclined, and used to retire to the woods alone to pray. His boyish mind conceived of God as the greatest and oldest person in existence, and of Jesus Christ as next in age.

The popular ideal of the section of Kentucky in which he grew to manhood was his ideal, of which he says: "And I verily thought that to be a brave, skilful warrior, or a good hunter, was the greatest honor to which any man could attain."¹ And one of his personal acquaintances wrote: "We first behold him a wild, romantic youth, in the majestic forests of Kentucky—his native land [the allusion to his nativity is a mistake] in his leathern dress, with his deadly rifle, pursuing the nimble deer and fierce wolf with a heart fraught with courage, pride and native ambition."² When he reached young manhood he could read and write very indifferently.

Naturally religious, oppressed with a sense of sin almost from his young boyhood days, he was deeply affected by reports of the great revival in his state, and lay under an increased sense of conviction of sin until his conversion at a large camp-meeting in the year 1802. The protracted state of depression was followed by a most joyous sense of release from condemnation, and almost immediately Kinkade felt impressed to begin preaching. He therefore quit his frontier life, and his parents' home, and traveled about preaching. Preparatory to preaching he bought a pocket Bible, without notes, comments, or marginal references, and paid the Presbyterian of whom he bought it by three days' work grubbing in a brier patch. From reading that Bible, without the assistance of commentary, he formed his mature religious views, and from them never found reason to recede. Later he was accused of Unitarian sentiments and teaching; but protests that his own theological views were formed and committed to writing long before he ever read a word of Unitarian doctrines.³

¹ Bib. Doc., p. 5.

² Ibid., p. 313.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

Following upon his conversion he took a position quite singular—he refused to be called anything but a Christian, and decried sectarian names; he tossed overboard creeds and like standards and took the Bible alone as his standard of doctrine and practice. At that time he was unaware that any other person in the world had assumed such a position.¹ This necessarily affected his ministerial relationship; and although he might have entered the ministry of any of three prominent denominations in Kentucky, he refused, preferring freedom for expression of his own views.

When William Kinkade took up the Gospel ministry he was not only illiterate, but ungainly in appearance, mawkish in manner, and clumsy in expression, so much so that his ordination was opposed by some persons present.² But David Purviance and others saw in the youth ability and future usefulness, and set him apart for the Christian ministry about 1809. Realizing somewhat his deficiencies, he sought remedies as they were offered. After preaching several years, he entered an academy conducted near Newport, Kentucky, by a certain Dr. Stubbs, working early and late to pay for board and tuition. There he acquired familiarity with the Latin and Greek languages. Later he entered the home of Barton W. Stone, in Lexington, and in a class with Stone and others became quite proficient in the Hebrew language which was taught by a very learned Prussian doctor who was a Jew.³ Kinkade is reputed to have been an excellent linguist, his proficiency being due to intense application and a retentive memory. For example, he wrote "The Bible Doctrine," a considerable theological treatise, quoting largely from memory, and making quite accurate critical comments based on his previous study of the Bible in Hebrew and Greek.

For several years now he traveled, after the manner of most preachers in the west, preaching night and day as opportunity presented itself in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. His

¹ Bib. Doc., p. 4.

² Purviance, p. 274.

³ Ibid., p. 274.

lot was rather worse than that of the average itinerant, for his uncouth manner and diffidence caused him to be shamefully neglected. An incident is related that illustrates the point. With David Purviance and other ministers, young Kinkade found himself at the home of a noted Baptist preacher, "Old Joe Craig," upon a certain day, and was set to preach. Being entirely unknown, poorly clad and travel-stained, and being of rather small stature, he created a sense of disappointment in the assembled audience by his appearance; but he was equal to the occasion and preached a sermon that was well received. At the close "Old Joe," who had warmed up and become very happy, arose, rubbed the side of his head with one hand, and in a whining tone of voice began to exclaim: "O bless God! Our blessed Saviour rode into the city of Jerusalem on a poor, leetle shabby animal, bless God! I have been trying to get a blessing ever since this meeting commenced, but I could not get it. But, bless God! he rode into my poor soul to-night, on the poor leetle shabby preacher, O bless God."¹

How Kinkade was led to consider immersion the only true baptism is shown by the following story. As he was preaching in a grove one day, a father brought forward his family of children to have them christened according to the prevalent custom. One boy objected to the sprinkling ceremony, ran away and climbed a tree. The father followed and ordered the boy to descend, but with an oath the boy refused. Then the preacher declined to baptize the boy, regarding him unfit for such a rite. Soon afterward Kinkade embraced the immersionist view and discontinued infant baptism.

Joseph Badger describes Kinkade as he appeared about 1826, the zenith of his power. "His dress is rather ordinary, his conduct and language humble and plain, and there is no disguise in his manners, and his whole performance is as plain as yes and no. He is small in stature, light complexion, a

¹ Purviance, pp. 274, 275.

little bald, has a stern blue eye, which at once convinces the beholder of his discernment, ambition and courage."¹

Although not an old man, he had aged rapidly as a result of almost incredible hardships endured in his traveling. He preached two to four hours at a time; forded streams and plodded on with icicles hanging to his clothes in the cold season; slept on the ground in the forests; endured hunger and weariness. This sort of life soon undermined his constitution, naturally robust, and fastened upon him rheumatism and a tubercular trouble.

Some time before 1818 he made his home in Ohio, and then moved to the sparsely settled wild country of Illinois, still inhabited by savage men and beasts, settling upon a small farm which he had purchased in Lawrence County. Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, and William Kinkade was a member of the Constitutional Convention. He had been preaching right along and gained some eminence. The overshadowing question of debate during the Convention was that of slavery, and this Christian preacher is generally given credit for a large share in keeping slavery out of Illinois. He wrote against slavery and published his views in the papers, he took the stump on every occasion to declaim against the iniquity, he preached against it on the sabbath, and continued so to do although his life was repeatedly threatened. He is said to have held a dirk in his hand while arguing on the floor of the Convention for human freedom. Of his part in defeating the slavery section he always spoke with pride. He served two sessions as state senator after Illinois became a state.²

In 1823 Kinkade was married to Anna Gregory, daughter of Samuel Gregory, of Warren County, Ohio, and continued to reside on his Illinois farm, cultivating the soil and preaching round about the neighborhood as he had liberty to do so. But his wife's health began to decline rapidly. The conditions of life in her new home were hard, owing to the newness of the

¹ Bib. Doc., p. 355, edition of 1908.

² Purviance, p. 276.

country, and she was homesick and discontented. Consumption developed to an acute stage, and finally Kinkade took her back to Warren County and her father's home, where she died soon after. He himself desolately returned to Illinois.

Following a long-felt desire, he now journeyed east to visit the brethren with whom he had enjoyed fellowship by correspondence or otherwise. This was in 1828, and the journey occupied two years. For several months he was in New York City, and there, in the home of Deacon Feek, on Suffolk Street, he wrote "The Bible Doctrine," issued in 1829. The first edition was sold within a few months, and revised editions were printed and sold later. He received a severe injury in his side, while traveling with his wife to her Ohio home, by the overturning of the carriage. That injury caused him much suffering, making it impossible for him to sit at a table and write, and he is said to have composed his book standing on his knees. In the preface he remarked: "I disown all party names. I do not profess to belong to any sect of Christians. I fellowship all good people of every name, without regarding how much they may differ from me in doctrines. I have written this book as the sentiments of no sect or denomination of people. It is a sketch of my own views."

During the eastern trip he visited a number of places in southeastern New York, and as far north as Saratoga County, for some time received treatment from Dr. Joseph Hall, of Dutchess County, attended the General Conference of the Christian denomination at New York in 1829, and went to Boston, Mass. But his health failed rapidly, and soon after publication of his book he returned to Ohio. Tubercular affection of one knee began to cause him trouble, and his suffering grew so intense that he finally summoned a physician from Hamilton who amputated the leg just below the hip. At the time he was living with a brother-in-law; but as soon as sufficiently recovered he was removed to a sister's home near Burlington, Ohio, eighteen miles distant from the brother-in-law's. Occa-

sionally he wrote short letters to friends, usually mentioning his gradually weakening condition. Not until November, 1830, did he give up preaching. After the tubercular knee had been amputated, the pulmonary trouble increased, entailing severe suffering which he bore with fortitude. In the spring of 1832 Kinkade seemed to perceive the near approach of death, and even set the date of his demise, and wrote his own epitaph. The end came on September 20. A funeral discourse was preached by Rev. J. P. Andrew, of Cincinnati, at the cemetery in Burlington where the remains were interred.

Measured by years Kinkade's life was short, and his candle burned out too soon. In spite of his unprepossessing appearance and manner he made great impression upon people by the vigor of his thought and speech. He was useful and highly esteemed. Several pieces of writing are attributed to him besides his theological work; but they were not of equal value. We have already seen how he fought against slavery: his advocacy of the temperance cause was just as hearty as his efforts for human freedom. One of his temperance addresses is preserved to us, in which he took very advanced ground for the year 1828; for he advocated total abstinence and the complete prohibition of the manufacture of intoxicating beverage drinks.

So lived, wrought and died a man who always signed himself, "William Kinkade, a stranger and pilgrim on earth."

These seven men were leaders, in different sections of the country, of that movement which crystallized into the Christian Church of America. O'Kelly was the strong, impetuous leader, the advocate of religious liberty and antagonist of ecclesiastical tyranny; Haggard was the well-poised, discerning man ready with a matured plan of action; Smith was the fearless iconoclast, the brilliant, rash, but unstable reformer and journalist, to whom the shock of conflict was but an added spur; Jones was the methodical ground-gainer, reaching

conclusions slowly, holding them tenaciously; Stone was the scholarly theorist and lover of harmony, the mediating apologist; while Purviance was the rugged, logical man of affairs, with the grasp of a statesman; Kinkade was the theologian of this group, sweeping men to conviction by force of fact and argument. Seven great men were these, if measured by the place they filled in America's early religious history. Mankind owes them a debt never discharged, because by a train of circumstances their sun was obscured. Their labors have affected thousands outside the small denomination which they unconsciously helped to usher into existence, nay, which came into existence in spite of them.

We do not dub them founders of a denomination, because they did not truly found one; but they started a movement and led it toward separate denominational life. The brief history which follows will trace the movement and resulting religious brotherhood.

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CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

1775-1805

BEGINNINGS cannot be thoroughly understood apart from their setting in time and place, and whoever reads these pages must think himself back at least a century and a quarter, seeking to catch the spirit of those times and appreciate conditions then existing in Virginia, New England and Kentucky, to which sections the preceding chapter has already introduced us. In passing we merely call attention to the pervasive influence upon all American society of the War for American Independence, which had just closed when the events transpired which ushered into life the new religious denomination.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY VIRGINIA

Several different influences moulded the character of the people of Virginia and the Carolinas. East of the Blue Ridge Mountains they traced ancestors back to the Cavaliers, many of whom sought Virginia in the days of the English Commonwealth.¹ Along the western frontier and down through the western Carolinas much later settled a considerable number of Presbyterians, whose ancestors hailed from Scotland, by way of Ireland and Pennsylvania.² The former element was Episcopalian, and gentry inclined toward pleasure and ease. The dominant families of Virginia were given to pleasure and sports, not unlike those followed by English gentry whose kith and kin and posterity they were. The clergy of the Established Church, with worthy exceptions, had been noted for

¹ Elson, Vol. I, p. 97.

² Davidson, p. 17.

their pleasure-loving proclivities. "They gave themselves up to worldly and frivolous amusements, such as horse-racing, cock-fighting, fox-hunting and carousing."¹ The latter element was Calvinistic and reverently religious, industrious and sturdy. In Virginia had been the first trial of popular government on North American soil, and those early lessons were never forgotten.

When the Revolutionary War closed, Virginia was the most populous American colony. It had contributed largely in winning American Independence, in furnishing soldiers, officers, money, statesmen and great moral influence. After peace was won, Virginia found herself demoralized by past struggle, and soldiers returning to their homes were like an epidemic of vice sweeping the colony.² It is, therefore, easy to imagine the moral tone of that society after the country's defenders returned home with their vices.

So far as material prosperity was concerned, Virginia was greatly blessed. Slave labor was common and tobacco was such a standard commodity that even the clergy were paid with the weed and turned it to account as best they could. Since slaves were employed on plantations, agricultural pursuits were less hindered by war than they were in sections where tillers of the soil themselves entered the army, and necessarily left their labor unperformed.

In the Carolinas, Virginia and Maryland the Church of England was recognized by law as a State Church being supported by taxation in Maryland.³ Of course the church was disestablished when the war closed,⁴ and many clergymen returned to England. Church buildings were left to decay, and, if possible, religious conditions were worse than ever for a few years.⁵ Many planters defected to skepticism,⁶ and the church was in severe straits.⁷

In such times Methodism was planted in America. Its

¹ Hawkes quoted by Davidson, p. 22.
p. 287.
Vol. IX, p. 173.

⁴ McTyeire, p. 252.

⁷ McTyeire, p. 319.

² Stone, p. 2.

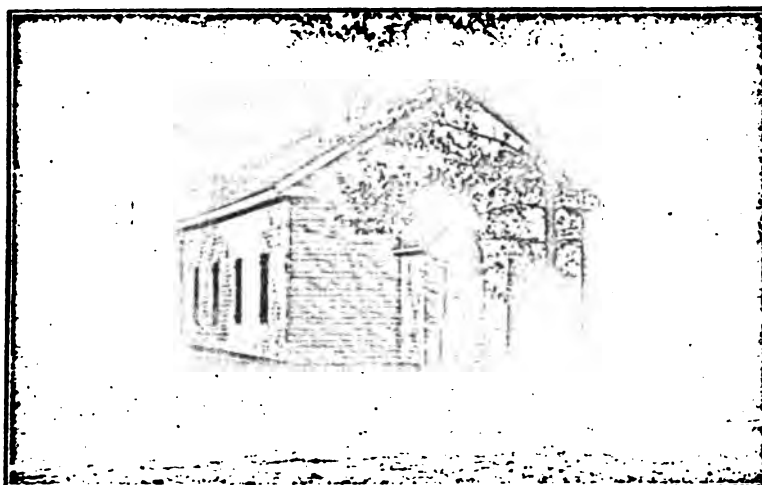
⁵ McMaster, Vol. II, p. 12.

³ Elson, Vol. I.
⁶ Bassett.



SITE OF THE OLD LEBANON CHURCH, SURRY CO., VA.

Here the "Republican Methodist Church" was dissolved, and
"The Christian Church" of the South was organized in 1794.
See p. 91.



PRESENT LEBANON CHURCH BUILDING, SURRY CO., VA.
Located near the site of the old building.

preachers journeyed to and through Virginia, being subjected to persecutions, sometimes not allowed to preach, so intolerant was the Established Church; but after the Toleration Act, in 1785, matters changed. Methodists and Moravians had been warned from port before they landed; Presbyterians had found difficulty in gaining foothold; and Baptists had suffered most of all. "They were beaten and imprisoned, and cruelty taxed its ingenuity to devise new methods of punishment and annoyance."¹ Meantime, a new episcopacy was growing in America. Methodists had increased rapidly, had organized churches and a conference numbering 14,983 members in 1784, when Episcopal Methodism was organized. Francis Asbury, sent over by John Wesley as a missionary, and appointed Wesley's general assistant in 1772, was the dominant force in shaping the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Through his sagacious work, the separation between the northern and southern congregations over the question of ordinances was prevented. Southern ministers had ordained one another, that baptism and the Lord's Supper might be administered. Northern ministers had opposed this proceeding.² Asbury had appealed to Mr. Wesley for a suitable form of church government, and Dr. Coke, the first Methodist bishop in America, was sent to ordain American ministers and superintend the societies with Asbury. By Coke, Asbury was ordained bishop. In 1787 Coke's return to England left Asbury alone. Then followed a struggle by which the Episcopal form of government was planned and fastened upon the Methodists, a system admirably adapted to developing a strong organic body, and Methodism increased rapidly, extending throughout the eastern states.

CONDITIONS IN NEW ENGLAND

In spite of more than a century and a half of incessant industry, labor and pinching economy, New England was still

¹ Hawkes quoted by McTyelre, p. 251.

² McTyelre, p. 317.

poor.¹ Those states claimed to be the most civilized section of the United States, yet they gained but few advantages over their rivals.

It was a day of material development. To cultivate the fertile land, build up manufactories, and construct means of transportation—these things were deemed pre-eminently essential to social progress. After these were placed education, religion, literature and art, the so-called ornaments of life. About ninety-five per cent. of the inhabitants lived in villages or open country. The villages were located along bays, sounds, and small streams. The country was, perhaps, more thickly settled in New England than in other sections, homes were more attractive, and the educational spirit was more generally developed than anywhere else in the country. From 1790 to 1800 there was an enormous emigration from New England. During these ten years the center of population moved westward forty-one miles.² There was an organized social system created by the union which existed between the clergy, the magistracy, the bench and bar and respectable society. Such a union existed nowhere outside of New England, but was admirably adapted to the eighteenth century.³

Traveling was done by stage-coach, the country being dotted with taverns, small and rude. At long intervals a really good inn was encountered in New England. These inns were satisfactory to the most fastidious Frenchman, and in them travelers could pass night after night in perfect safety, where doors and windows knew no lock.⁴

At sundown on Saturday, the Sabbath began. The great Bible was taken down and then followed Scripture reading, psalms, a long season of self-examination and prayer. By eight o'clock every farmer's household was asleep. On the Sabbath none but most necessary labor was allowed. The whole family went in a body to meeting.⁵ Massachusetts was

¹ Adams, I, p. 21.

² McMaster, Vol. II, p. 576.

³ Adams, I, p. 76.

⁴ McMaster, Vol. II, p. 564.

⁵ Ibid., p. 565.

evidently more strict concerning Sabbath observances than other New England states. The minister's salary was anywhere from seventy-five to one hundred forty pounds (one pound equal to \$3.33) and was payable in boards, shingles or produce or whatever the congregation saw fit.¹ Pious men complained that the war had been demoralizing, making men weary of restraint. Sabbath breaking increased at an alarming rate, as did profanity and levity.

Puritan morals ruled society. The life was regular and amusements simple. In other sections of the country recreations were more unrestrained. The Congregational minister was the most influential man in the community, although Unitarianism was beginning to undermine this denomination and the trend of wealthy classes was toward the Episcopal Church. Theological literature no longer held the place that it did in the days of Edwards and Hopkins. Popular reaction against Calvinism stopped development of doctrinal theology.² The reign of old-fashioned conservatism was nearing its end. The New England Church was apparently sound, and even Unitarians and Baptists were recognized as parts of one fraternity.³

This period was not characterized by intellectual progress. The effect of war was to turn all energies towards physical and material recuperation, and education made little advance. In the year 1800 the Harvard faculty consisted of its president, three professors, and four tutors.

EARLY KENTUCKY

Kentucky was a newly settled country, not yet won from the wilderness. Settlers crossed over the mountains from Virginia and North Carolina and up from Tennessee. Indian depredations were still frequent in the last named state and the western parts of Kentucky. Forests and almost impenetrable canebrakes abounded. And yet the "blue grass state" had made great progress, and the tide of new-comers had been

¹ McMaster, Vol. II, p. 568.

² Adams, I, p. 81.

³ Ibid., p. 89.

large.¹ Endless speculation and litigation over lands had followed the influx of settlers with military grants and land-office warrants. The Oyer and Terminer courts did a thriving business.

A large percentage of settlers were of good Virginia stock, of Scotch-Irish descent, enterprising and vigorous, who from the first gave tone and social standing to the new state.² Probably, too, most of them had good religious training in the Old Dominion; but the exigencies of a new country had served to somewhat relax their fervor and their practice.³ Character deteriorated;⁴ vices of newly settled communities appeared; many people were led to unsettled habits; military duty increased social indulgence; and the ideals of manhood were not far removed from the border ruffian type.

Meeting houses were not plenty, and ministers were scarce. Sunday came to signify other things than a holy day. And yet the more zealous Christians kept up family worship and religious teaching after the manner of their time. About 1783 Rev. David Rice, a Presbyterian minister, went to Kentucky and preached some. His was a strong character, and quite largely through his sacrificing and efficient labors, Presbyterianism became strongly established in the new state.

About this time, too, the Baptists had gathered congregations and numbered sixteen churches and thirty ministers, while their Presbyterian neighbors had the same number of churches and only seven ministers. In 1786 two Methodist preachers, James Haw and Benjamin Ogden, began their circuits within Kentucky; and their work had much to do with the later revolt against Calvinism. There were less than a hundred Methodists, a few Episcopalians, and about three hundred Catholic families in the state.⁵ One remark of Davidson's is impressive, where he speaks disparagingly of the early Kentucky ministers: "The most of them were not above mediocrity;

¹ Davidson, p. 54.
p. 63.

² Ibid., p. 57.
³ Ibid., pp. 85-87.

⁴ Stone, p. 38.

⁵ Davidson,

nor was the dullness of the axe compensated by putting thereto more strength. Accustomed to a certain fixed routine, they could not move out of it."¹

To conditions already named should be added dissensions in the Presbyterian and Baptist folds, and sectarian rivalry between the two. A further factor was called by some "French infidelity," by others "deism."² The service rendered the Colonies by Frenchmen during the Revolutionary War, and the sympathy of Americans for France now that she was struggling toward republicanism, readily opened way for French philosophical and religious views. By the year 1800 the majority of Kentuckians were said to be devotees of deism, and vice was prevalent.³ The final factor was the political ferment of that day, which naturally kept religion in the background.

KENTUCKY'S AWAKENING

Rev. James McGready entered the state and began to preach about 1796. He was a Presbyterian from North Carolina, of exceedingly impassioned manner and overpowering address. Sometimes his visage was terrible to behold, because so distorted in passion. His preaching had remarkable effects, and just at the close of the century excitement began to grow, reaching extensive proportions in 1800 in Logan and Christian Counties, southwestern Kentucky, and extending into Madison County, central part of the state, the next year. To this section of country Barton W. Stone went to see for himself the character of the revival.⁴ What he saw baffled description and greatly impressed him. Returning to his churches at Concord and Cane Ridge, Bourbon County, he told people what he had seen, and similar meetings were arranged for, and phenomena seen in the southern counties were repeated in the northern. Meetings were held at Cabin Creek, Concord,

¹ Davidson, p. 103.
son, p. 103,

² McNemar, pp. 8, 9.

⁴ Stone, p. 34.

³ Ibid., p. 10. David-

Eagle Creek (in Adams County, Ohio), Point Pleasant, Indian Creek, and Cane Ridge. The last named meeting was the greatest of all and has come down in history. Between twenty and thirty thousand people are said to have camped about the meeting-house on the Ridge, and most remarkable and varied physical manifestations attended the gatherings from day to day. No class of people was exempt, hundreds were stricken to the ground, or seized with convulsive jerks, or rolled upon the ground, or ran, or barked, or danced, or had visions and trances.¹

This revival spirit pervaded the state and extended into Ohio and Tennessee, lasting for years, although the peculiar physical excitements abated after a year or two.

It is necessary to enter rather more fully into this great revival, because grave consequences grew out of it, and the conditions should be understood. Early in 1801 there had been a peculiar seriousness and concern in churches of the state, especially among Presbyterians, as to why such spiritual dearth prevailed. Ministers had been aroused and were preaching more spiritual discourses, leaving dogma and speculative themes aside. It is therefore easy to see why the revival caught and spread so rapidly.²

And now as to the excesses witnessed: the Presbyterians laid them chiefly to some Methodist preachers, who were hand and soul in the work. Most Presbyterians held aloof or opposed the fanatical excesses. And here was one root of serious difficulty to follow. Davidson alleges that camp-meetings were scenes of wildest disorder and confusion,³ and he is confirmed by McNemar and others.⁴ Stone is even denounced as a "ring-leader" in these disorders.⁵ Indeed, it is difficult to see how a worshipful spirit could be preserved in crowds of thousands, some people fainting and hysterical, some singing, some shouting or praying, others scoffing, many wan-

¹ McNemar, pp. 22, 23, 61, 62.
⁴ McNemar, p. 23.

² See Ap., p. 360.

⁵ Davidson, p. 157.

³ Davidson, p. 155.

dering aimlessly about seeing the sights, while scores were afflicted with the physical contortions mentioned.¹ We can hardly wonder that Presbyterian elders were greatly concerned and actively combatted the excesses.

Still further ground for hostility was given by the loose associations of sexes during camp-meetings. McNemar hints at this,² and Davidson instances cases of immodest conduct by women and girls, some exceedingly flagrant cases where females were under the exciting influences of the bodily "exercises."³ What the lewd element wrought under cover of darkness is suggested by the venerable "Father" Rice's proposal, in the fall of 1801, to secure co-operation of the clergy in a "plan for regulating the camps at night, in order to prevent opportunities of vicious intercourse;" "for which purposes the sexes were to be strictly separated during the hours allotted to sleep, and night-watches were to reconnoitre the camps and the stand," the ministers by turns serving in the capacity of watchmen.

As to the "bodily exercises," Presbyterians did not believe those physical phenomena of divine origin, or a sign of divine presence. McNemar seems careful to distinguish between the real work of grace and the "exercises." Elder John Rogers disapproved of the "excesses" (contortions).^{4 5}

Rogers answers Davidson's charge that Stone was a ring-leader in revival excesses by quoting an early acquaintance of Stone's, who was with him through the whole course of the revival, a man remarkable for accuracy and fidelity in detailing facts, to the effect "that he never saw him clap his hands, nor heard him shout glory, or stamp his foot, or strike his Bible, or the board before him, with his hand—that he never was the subject of the jerks, or any of the bodily exercises, as they were called."⁶ Stone's letter to Robert Marshall, quoted by David-

¹ Purviance, p. 300. McNemar, p. 26. ² McNemar, p. 34. ³ Davidson, p. 164. Purviance, pp. 300, 303. ⁴ Stone, pp. 369-375. ⁵ Readers are referred to a recent pamphlet, "Emotional Delusions," by Rev. J. W. Blosser, D. D., published by the Congregational Home Missionary Society, 287 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. ⁶ Stone, Ap., p. 1.

son, speaks of some Christian churches being led away by too much noise.¹ It is a well-known fact that the physical exercises have appeared among different sects in different parts of the country, and were not peculiar to Stone's meetings. That level-headed man seemed to think, however, that bodily agitations were permitted to arrest people's attention, and hence were in a way divine manifestations.²

Still another difficulty grew out of doctrines preached at camp-meeting revivals. Davidson says: "The doctrine of election and special grace being openly denied and ridiculed."³ He attributes this subversion of Presbyterian teaching largely to the Methodists, and probably their influence had much to do with it. And yet it should be remembered that a considerable number of preachers were called into service during the revival years who had no training and no sectarian indoctrination, and who preached about as most men would, without the spell of sectarian dogma.⁴ The spirit of unanimity began to fade from the revivals, and again sectarian doctrines were elevated to prominence. The Presbyterians formed a purpose to withstand errors which had grown out of revivals and still continued. Individuals and congregations were incited to action, and Richard McNemar and John Thompson were accused of heresy before their own Presbytery, the Washington, and McNemar was convicted of holding "Arminian tenets;" and yet in 1803 their cases were dismissed. These proceedings were brought before the Synod of Kentucky, at Lexington, in September, 1803, and it became evident that the verdict would be against McNemar, notwithstanding the fact that the proceedings were irregular. The denouement of this trial will form part of the following chapter.

One can easily see now why the Presbyterians opposed camp-meeting revivals: on account of the disorders, late hours, bodily exercises, presence of lewd characters and loose associations of the sexes, disregard of their doctrine, and entanglement

¹ Davidson, p. 210.
Ap., p. 369.

² Stone, p. 38.

³ Davidson, p. 106.

⁴ See

of some Presbyterian preachers and churches in the swirl. Stone says that jealousy of the Baptists and Methodists was also a reason.¹

It has been necessary to lead the reader into these details, that he might understand religious conditions in Kentucky for several years about the time the new denomination sprang up there headed by Stone and others who came out from the Presbyterian church.

¹ Stone, p. 46.

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CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

UPHEAVAL OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL CRUST 1775-1805

CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS

SEVERAL nearly contemporary movements were making toward religious liberty about the time the Christian denomination arose, and the movement we are tracing contributed to a larger result. Undoubtedly the achievement of civil liberty had its influence on the religious life of the time. Men who were staunch patriots in the fight for independence, were also staunch supporters of the church, in most cases. Coercion in fealty to another country was distasteful, because enforced by means of arms. To many men coercion in religious adherence, support or belief was no less distasteful because enforced by more pacific agencies.¹ But the galling of conscience was felt quite as much as the galling of taxation.

The Baptists.—The position of Roger Williams and the Baptists in New England is well understood by everybody. They seemed to stand for religious liberty,² and met with continual repression from the dominant Puritanism. Baptist preachers suffered more or less persecution and disability on account of their preaching and doctrinal views.³ Some were treated with indignity, were chased out of town and warned not to return. While the Baptists increased only slowly at first, under the repressive and intolerant treatment visited upon them they increased more rapidly, and numbered near one hundred thousand in the year 1800. Naturally they developed

¹ See Ap., p. 370. ² See Ap., p. 370. ³ See Backus' Works: A Door Opened for Equal Christian Liberty, by Isaac Backus. Philip Freeman, Boston, 1783. Account of disgraceful treatment of Rev. Richard Lee, who was invited to preach in Hingham, in May, 1782, and disposal of his case in court. And also case of taxation of Baptists for support of parish church. People sometimes had to mortgage land to pay minister tax. H. G. L., Vol. III, p. 220. See Ibid., p. 302.

and exhibited violent hatred also toward anything that smacked of state ecclesiasticism.

The Unitarians.—About 1785 the Episcopalian congregation of King's Chapel, Boston, was influenced by James Freeman to embrace what were then stigmatized as Unitarian doctrines and sentiments, and to form an independent organization. Two years later Freeman was ordained as minister of that congregation. In 1794 appeared in New York City John Butler preaching tenets quite similar to those declared in King's Chapel. After considerable opposition and difficulty Butler gained a hearing in that city for views embraced by the descriptive term "Unitarianism."¹ By the beginning of the nineteenth century Unitarians had gained many adherents, and clashed of course with Christians adhering to Puritan or Baptist doctrines. The friction with Calvinist Baptists was pronounced. Numerically the Unitarians were not formidable; but their propagandism was pushed by learned and eloquent men, and produced great effect.

Free Baptists.—Dissension arose among Baptists in New Hampshire in 1779 over Calvinistic doctrines. Benjamin Randall was the storm center, and in spite of his doctrinal obliquity he received ordination at New Durham in 1780. Like others of pronounced convictions, he found adherents, and they persistently preached doctrines largely at variance with Calvinism. A new communion arose styled "Free Will Baptists," the name indicating where they laid the emphasis. Their first yearly meeting was organized in 1792, and they were numerous when the nineteenth century opened.

The Methodists.—Virginia supported the Established Church until American Independence was declared; and that church bitterly opposed new sects entering that state. Landing was refused the first shipload of Methodists entering a Virginian port, and they were warned to go elsewhere.² Baptists bore the brunt of opposition, suffering as severely as in

¹ McMaster II, p. 238.

² McTyeire, p. 250.

New England.¹ Presbyterianism deflected itself into western Virginia, and Virginia valley, less settled sections, thus avoiding the wrath of the State Church.² But the State Church went out of business in Virginia when the Revolution closed, and the clergy left the country. In 1785 Thomas Jefferson ardently labored for religious as well as civil liberty. Jefferson's views were branded as infidel; he was accused of espousing and propagating "French philosophy;" and that was urged against him as a candidate for the presidency, while his infidelity was roundly execrated.³ The total effect, however, was to weaken traditional religious views, and to make possible greater freedom of religious thought and practice.

The upheaval of the ecclesiastical crust had already begun, therefore, when O'Kelly and Stone and Smith leaped into the religious arena to contend for liberty.

REVOLT FROM EPISCOPAL METHODISM

Methodist ministers frequently discussed in their quarterly meetings and annual conferences the lack of ordinances or sacraments for their people, these means of grace being monopolized by the Established Church. Francis Asbury, Wesley's lieutenant in America, had given the preachers no satisfaction, and practically forbade administration of ordinances except under his particular direction. It was understood that this question would be settled in 1779, when Conference met in Fluvanna County, Virginia. Asbury took means, however, to head off the inevitable demand of southern preachers by calling a conference of northern preachers; and yet a presbytery of four was appointed by the Virginia Conference to administer the ordinances and authorize others so to do, Mr. Asbury alone opposing, and eighteen others voting for the measure. The year following at another conference of northern men, the Virginia ministers were disciplined by

¹ McTyeire, pp. 250, 251. ² Davidson, Chap. I. ³ The charge of infidelity was untrue, according to Elson. See II, p. 262.

suspension of "all their administrations for one year." Of course a question of fellowship between the disciplined preachers and the rest arose at annual conference, and was settled after much labor by the practical backing down of all except James O'Kelly. He saw that the trend of Methodism was toward a hierarchy, and that he wished to avoid, quoting Mr. Wesley's will for the American societies as follows: "They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they stand fast in the liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free."¹

The famous Christmas Conference convened in Baltimore, Christmas eve, 1784, attended by sixty out of a possible number of eighty-three preachers, the session being held in secret. The Methodist Episcopal Church was then and there formally organized independently of the Church of England. Francis Asbury was ordained deacon, elder, and superintendent, and thirteen other elders were also ordained. A large minority was dissatisfied with the form of church government, and it is a little singular that the government was not made more democratic, seeing that popular civil government had recently been established in America. O'Kelly went to his North Carolina and Virginia circuit dissatisfied, and began to agitate against episcopacy among Methodists. He was now a presiding elder, and second to no man in the Conference in influence. When Rev. Richard Whatcoat was proposed for bishop in 1787, O'Kelly openly opposed him, alleging that free Americans did not like "European heads" in the Methodist Church, that Whatcoat's age was prohibitive of efficiency, that he was strange to America, and that two heads would produce two bodies; but protest did not avail. Asbury about this time directed preachers to address him as bishop and was censured by Mr. Wesley on this account.² A year later Bishop Asbury's proposal for a General Conference was voted down in Virginia,

¹ MacClenny, p. 48. See Ap., p. 371. Wesley, Vol. II, pp. 285-286, quoted by MacClenny.

² Ibid., p. 59. Life of

but his council idea prevailed, it being stipulated, however, that all council measures must be unanimously passed and approved by a majority of preachers in the district, before such measures became binding.

From this time forward Methodist history is occupied with a recital of diplomatic measures by which Bishop Asbury finally gained complete ascendancy and bent most of the Conference to his will. The liberty-loving patriot, O'Kelly, could not brook this fastening of an ecclesiastical hierarchy upon the American church. When the new constitution was offered in 1790, Conference rejected it, and immediately Asbury declared all ministers expelled without appeal.

The famous General Conference of 1792, held in Baltimore, Maryland, was largely attended and fraught with grave consequences. For years O'Kelly and others desired such a conference, hoping that it might check the Bishop's power. Francis Asbury is said to have caucused with certain preachers for several days before Conference opened. From the first session matters took a distinctly Asburian trend. During the proceedings, James O'Kelly introduced a resolution embodying the "right of appeal," so that a minister thinking himself aggrieved by the Bishop's appointment, might appeal to Conference and secure a different station. After long debate, by parliamentary tactics the question was divided. Debate was protracted to wearisome length, and finally the "right of appeal" was lost.¹ Again, while the revision of discipline was going on, O'Kelly arose and said: "Brethren, hearken unto me. Put away all other books and forms, and let this (holding up the New Testament) be the only criterion, and that will satisfy me." This was opposed and lost. The next morning O'Kelly and thirty others withdrew from Conference and departed for home. An interested observer, while watching their departure, first uttered the slander that O'Kelly denied the doctrine of the Trinity and had left because he feared being

¹ MacClenny, p. 90 ff.

brought to trial. Directly or indirectly attempts were made toward reconciliation. O'Kelly was even allowed to continue preaching and given his per annum as theretofore. But soon he was "shut out of doors," to use his own expression, and derogatory reports were put into circulation about him. Meetings of his followers were held in interest of re-union with the Methodists, and petitions were sent to Bishop Asbury asking for some amendments in church government. But all came to naught. To the final appeal of the aggrieved brethren the Bishop answered: "I have no power to call such a meeting as you wish; therefore, if five hundred preachers would come on their knees before me, I would not do it."¹ The meeting asked for was to try the constitution of the church by Scripture, and to amend it accordingly. This final answer was received by the men who had followed O'Kelly, in a meeting held at Manakintown, Virginia, called for the special purpose of hearing what the decision should be. The date was 1793.² O'Kelly's own vigorous account of this incident runs as follows:

"And it came to pass in those days, that Francis (Asbury) came on to conference in Petersburg, where he met with our address; but Francis being (as he calls it) a long-headed Englishman, and seeing the request [that the proposed form of government for the Methodist church be examined by the Scripture, and amended according to the Holy Word] so generous, that to refuse would disgrace him, and to comply would undo him, he threw it into chancery; I say into conference, and the result was, 'he has no power to call a meeting.' Then he denied our request. It was very cruel in the preachers, supposing Francis (Asbury) had no power; for them to suffer it to be. The reader will need no interpreter to tell the meaning of such conduct; it can speak for itself.

¹ MacClenny, pp. 111, 112. ² The first Christian Church in America, resulting from the movement we are tracing, was organized at Manakintown, Va., December 25, 1793.—Chris. Almanac, 1876, p. 36.

The oldest church in the denomination is that in Swansea, Mass., first gathered in 1680, as a Baptist Church, reorganized in 1690 as Church of Christ in Swansea; on position of Six Principle Baptists in 1725; independent and on position of Christians since 1819.

"And it came to pass on the twelfth month (of 1793) about the 25th day of the month, we met pursuant to adjournment at Manakintown to receive the answer from Francis (Asbury). Our friends made report that his answer to us was, 'I have no power to call such a meeting as you wish; therefore, if five hundred preachers would come on their knees before me, I would not do it.'

"The answer sounded in our ears like the voice of Rehoboam. Therefore, all hope of union was sunk. Nothing remained but 'to thy tents, O Israel.' The door to negotiation was shut. Therefore, a separation, or a slavish submission, was unavoidable; and we unanimously chose the former.

"We formed our ministers on an equality, gave the lay members a balance of power in the legislature, and left the executive business in the church collectively."

Hope of reconciliation having faded, the conference at Manakintown then proceeded to organize on the democratic basis just indicated, and enthusiastically took up the cause of religious liberty. "Republican Methodist Church" was the name assumed. A thousand people withdrew from the Methodists at this time and joined the new church.

In August, of 1794, the second conference of Republican Methodists was held in Surry County, Virginia. The work of the previous meeting had not been satisfactory, and a committee appointed to formulate a church government in this meeting was unable to reach an agreement. It was suggested that the Bible be searched for light on the subject of government. And first as to name: What name should the new church wear? Rev. Rice Haggard, standing with open New Testament in hand, said: "Brethren, this is a sufficient rule of faith and practice, and by it we are told that the disciples were called *Christians*, and I move that henceforth and forever the followers of Christ be known as Christians simply." This motion carried without dissent. Whereupon Rev. Mr. Haf-

ferty, of North Carolina, made a motion "to take the Bible itself as their only creed, and this too was carried."¹ Tradition has usually attributed both the above suggestions to Rice Haggard.

At this meeting about twenty ministers were present, representing the constituency of one thousand people. O'Kelly, Haggard, Guirey, R. Barrett, John Robinson, Jeter, Reeves and other companions then began a vigorous propagation of their views, especially in southern Virginia and contiguous parts of North Carolina. They soon had a following of several thousand. Most of them organized into simple Christian churches after the plan previously formulated. The Methodists lost 3,670 communicants that year. O'Kelly's influence over people of that territory was very great and predominated in the new churches. His plan was to have a "republican, no-slavery, glorious church." He protested against "a consolidated government or any one lord or archbishop claiming apostolic authority declaring to have the keys. Thus, our ministers have raised a throne for bishops, which being a human invention, a deviation from Christ and dear Mr. Wesley, I cordially refuse to touch."² Things did not always move smoothly in the new denomination, and divisions later arose over baptism and kindred topics.

Readers will have observed that the O'Kelly secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church was due solely to the form of government adopted, which was unsatisfactory to Virginia ministers. The story of heretical doctrine, and of O'Kelly's disappointment at not being made bishop, could not possibly be true. To this day the southern section of the Christian Church preaches Methodist doctrines. Had Methodism been launched with a liberal policy, in all likelihood no Christian Church would have been formed on the Southern Atlantic slope.

¹ MacClenny, pp. 116, 117.

² McTyeire, p. 410.

JONES QUILTS THE BAPTISTS

As a boy and youth Abner Jones came under Calvinist Baptist teaching and influence. Over the doctrine of election he stumbled when but a lad; but the matter of doctrines he settled with himself considerably later in life. However, about 1793 he had decided that Baptist church polity was unscriptural, as was the name "Baptist," and had decided also to be called simply a "Christian." Having mentioned his views to some of the brethren, he found himself entirely out of fellowship, and abandoned that church.

He had seized upon the casual remark of a Baptist preacher, who said that he would have nothing for which he could not find authority in the Bible, and put it to work with inexorable fidelity. While teaching school he had time to study the Bible, and declared that he found nothing in that book about church covenants, ordaining and installing councils, associations, and other ecclesiastical machinery, and refused to have anything to do with them. It will be noticed that there was no violent wrenching or straining of his relations with the Baptist people; but that by a natural process he reached a position of his own which did not accord with what he had been taught, and he chose, so deep were his convictions, to stand by himself, rather than compromise his conscience. For several years he was practically without a church.

While living in the town of Lyndon, Vt., practicing medicine, he was providentially led to preach, and then to quit the medical practice. He organized a "Christian Church" in Lyndon, in 1801, with thirteen members, there beginning his work as a religious reformer. The next year he formed two churches in western New Hampshire, one at Hanover, the other at Piermont; and then influenced Rev. Elias Smith, pastor in Portsmouth, to drop the cumbersome plans of organization used there and to adopt the simple plan that Jones had been using. From this time forward Jones traveled and preached

almost incessantly, first at all the points near Boston, a church being organized in that city, then in those near by, and then in ever-widening circles, into Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and all of eastern Massachusetts.

His work was mainly constructive, and less given to tearing down the work of other denominations. And yet the leaven had its effect, and Jones was cordially hated by devoted sectarians whose track he crossed.

ELIAS SMITH BREAKS WITH THE BAPTISTS

Smith's career, as already detailed, was stormy; and his break with the Calvinist Baptists was almost violent. He too had grown up under Baptist influences, and had become prejudiced against some of their practices and doctrines, because they had given him personal distress. His struggles with hard doctrines had been soul-racking. He hated infant baptism; he hated the prevalent stereotyped ecclesiasticism, whether in the Baptist, Congregational or Episcopalian churches; he could not preach election, although he had mentally subscribed to it; he was in the habit of rupturing his pastorates suddenly because they galled him; he found solace in brushing aside all traditions, forms, dogmas, and such like encumbrances, and resorting to the Scriptures for doctrine, polity and authority.

In 1802 he came to believe that Christ's followers should have no name but "Christians," to the exclusion of all popular sectarian designations. He was one of the dozen Baptist ministers in New Hampshire who determined to exercise their liberty in exhortation and otherwise, contrary to wishes of the older men, and who organized "The Christian Conference," agreeing to forsake names, doctrines, and practices not found in the New Testament. He was furthered in antagonism to established churches and ecclesiasticism by his experience when he first preached in Portsmouth. The ministers of that city

were alarmed, and sent vile slanders after him, temporarily shutting the doors of the city to him. His hostess, overriding her craven husband, turned her guest out of doors at eleven o'clock one cold night. He concluded that the "clergy" were the anti-Christ of Scripture, and taking his pen in hand he wrote a scathing comparison of the modern clergy with the early apostles.

Smith's work in Portsmouth grew. Soon a great revival broke out, and in March, 1803, he organized a church with a few less than twenty members. Then he composed "The History of Anti-Christ," roundly scoring the Episcopalian clergy and prayer-book. Never did the old mythical heroes attempt their prodigious labors with rashness exceeding Smith's assaults upon his supposed enemies. He was hounded from place to place. The Baptist ministers of Boston made life a burden to him; a mob nearly hooted him out of meeting at Roxbury, following him to Boston courthouse. He was even forbidden to enter Boston churches.¹

Then, when he was cited to answer charges before the Woburn Baptist church, of which he was a member and had been pastor, he answered the challenge by declaring himself no longer a member of that church because of their unchristian treatment of him (this church had stripped him of possessions), because he disbelieved their confession of faith, because their name was unscriptural, and because of their anti-Christian fellowship in "associations." The Gordian knot was cut. "If you wish to know what denomination I belong to, I tell you, as a professor of religion I am a *Christian*; as a preacher, a minister of Christ; calling no man father or master; holding as abominable in the sight of God everything highly esteemed among men, such as *Calvinism, Arminianism, free-willism, Universalism, reverend, parsons, chaplains, doctors of divinity, clergy, bands, surplices, notes, creeds, covenants, platforms*. with the *spirit of slander* which those who hold to these things

¹ Autob., p. 335.

are too often in possession of."¹ This was a tremendous deliverance. He then published seven reasons why the Association disfellowshipped him, and ostracism followed. Traducers resorted to pamphlets, and Smith answered in kind.

Then he assailed the Methodist hierarchy, and gained Methodist ill will.² He says that his warfare re-echoed from one end of the country to the other. In 1806 he abandoned close communion. Now he began to cut into the Baptists in another fashion, for by his influence Elder Daniel Hix, of Dartmouth, Mass., and his church of four hundred members (a few excepted) left the Baptists and became simply Christians. Smith held great revivals in that town, in New Bedford, and Fairhaven, and several other places near. At York, Maine, he was mobbed because of an ordination sermon preached there, and the same week he narrowly escaped a mob at Hampton, N. H.

The movement under Jones and Smith gathered headway, ministers were raised up, churches organized, the new unsectarian doctrines were everywhere proclaimed, until the whole amounted to a veritable upheaval in church circles in New England, forming a part of the larger movement for religious liberty and abolition of Calvinistic tyranny. Smith's embracing Universalism only tended to rip open the crust still more.

Smith traveled all over New England, and into the South, and results like those recited followed him. He not only did some excellent constructive work, but he was a mighty destructive engine also.

M'NEMAR HERESY CASE

In Kentucky also, revolution was on the way. Presbyterianism must take cognizance of the irregularity attending protracted revivals in that country. The proceedings of revivalistic preachers were irregular; but instead of attacking them for irregularities, the church brought them to book for

¹ Autob., pp. 341, 342.

² Ibid., p. 360.

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heretical doctrines. In the Washington Presbytery were lodged charges against McNemar, which were later for some cause dismissed; but the Synod of Kentucky took a hand in the case, and when McNemar and his companions saw how he would fare, they all withdrew from the synod and organized the Springfield Presbytery. Their pastorates were declared vacant. Going back to their parishes, they called their people together and told them the circumstances, with the result that hundreds left the Presbyterian Church, adhering to their pastors.¹ A great meeting was held at Cane Ridge, at which Rice Haggard was present, and under his influence the Christian Church² in Kentucky was organized. The old Cane Ridge Church followed Stone. The cause grew and churches multiplied. David Purviance was ordained to the ministry. No sooner had the new church begun to grow than Stone's companions in the ministry were carried away by the Shakers, leaving him and Purviance practically alone. So many demands were made for preaching by them that they called the Concord and Cane Ridge churches together to select assistant preachers. Andrew Ireland, John Purviance, David Kirkpatrick and William Caldwell were sent out as traveling evangelists,³ being chosen from a large number of talented young men in the two churches. They were the first evangelists of the new movement in Kentucky. By the end of 1804, there were churches at Turtle Creek, Eagle Creek, Springfield, Orangedale, Salem, Beaver Creek, Clear Creek, Indian Creek, (now Point Isabel), and some other places in Ohio, and at Cabin Creek, Flemingsburg, Concord, Cane Ridge, Bethel, Painted Lick, Shawney Run and a few other places in Kentucky, besides congregations in Tennessee and perhaps a few in Western Pennsylvania.⁴ The Ohio churches owed their existence quite largely to Ireland and John Purviance, and the Western Pennsylvania churches were probably the result of Caldwell's labors.

¹ Stone, p. 49.
Nemar, pp. 72, 73.

² Davidson, p. 198.

³ Purviance, p. 59.

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It appears, therefore, that the Kentucky movement stirred all Kentucky, southern Ohio, the Cumberland country in Tennessee, and the western borders of Pennsylvania. After the secession, Stone had a pamphlet battle with Dr. J. P. Campbell and others which attracted great attention and occasioned intense acerbity.¹ Before peace reigned, the Presbyterian Church government and confession of faith were pretty thoroughly gone over and the position of Stone and his co-adjutors was thoroughly published and misunderstood. Such was the upheaval in Kentucky.

IDEAS UNDERLYING THE UPHEAVAL

We may here pause to gather into a few sentences the ideas involved in the upheaval attending the movement that resulted in a new church. James O'Kelly wanted a church without episcopacy, because it comported better with republicanism. He opposed ecclesiastical aristocracy. But if bishops must be, then he would eliminate their absolutism. He did not revolt against the dogmas of Methodism, but he had thought the matter through and formed his own ideas on church government.

In New England, Jones hoped to reform Baptist Church discipline.² In his view, "Baptist" was an unscriptural term and should be replaced by the name "Christian." Baptist methods of organizing churches and forming associations were unscriptural and should be abandoned for primitive usage.³ He had no serious difficulty with dogmas except that of election, until years after his career began.⁴ He gives us the key to his mental processes which led hundreds to break with Calvinism. His whole philosophy was bound up in this sentence: "I will have nothing but for which I can bring, Thus saith the Lord, and, Thus it is written."

Smith carefully rehearsed his theological struggles in his autobiography. They began when he was a lad. He too,

¹ Davidson, p. 203.

² Jones, p. 37.

³ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

acted upon the principle just quoted, which he heard from the lips of the same Baptist minister. He saw a difference between Biblical and theological teaching, and his mind suffered agonies over it. Then he rejected the name "Baptist" and called himself simply a "Christian." Under Abner Jones' tuition, Smith and his Portsmouth church decided to abandon all former statements and creeds and stand by the Bible alone. He became a violent enemy of everything connected with the Established Church, priesthood, and religious tyranny. He especially scorned the support of churches by public taxation.¹

Stone and his companions in Kentucky revolted primarily at ecclesiastical tyranny.² Then they objected to confessions of faith and asserted their liberty in interpreting the Scriptures, in proclaiming free salvation, and in governing the church.³ They almost immediately followed Haggard's formulary acknowledging Christ as the only head of the church, the Bible as a sufficient rule of faith and practice, and the New Testament as the only needed model of organization and discipline. Stone gives us the key to his revolt against dogma. When he received licensure from the Orange Presbytery in North Carolina, the venerable father who addressed the candidates presented each with a Bible, saying: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." This incident profoundly affected Stone's future career. He preached from that text his first sermon after returning from the great revival in southern Kentucky, emphasizing the "universality of the gospel and faith as the condition of salvation."⁴ As already noted, election and reprobation found no place in the great revival. The confession of faith was forgotten, but the Bible was much in evidence; hence the charge of the Cabin Creek congregation against their pastor, Richard McNemar, "that he would be bound by no system but the Bible; and that he believed that systems were detrimental to the life and power of relig-

¹ See Ap., p. 371.
⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

² Stone, p. 168.

³ Ibid., pp. 170, 174, 175.

ion." "He has expressly declared at several times that Christ has preached salvation for all the human race without distinction."¹

Purviance was brought up a Presbyterian, learned both catechisms and believed them. He was ruling-elder in the Cane Ridge Church, and experienced no difficulty with doctrine until near the time of the great revival, when he was distressed about election. Then he was licensed to preach and began to study the Bible. He soon found that the Bible and theology did not tally. Even Calvinistic authors sometimes held forth free salvation. This couplet took hold of his mind:

"Gospel offers but a sham we make
If ev'ry sinner has not right to take."

Purviance remarks: "Here I commenced my exit from Calvinism, and have never desired to return."² His trial sermon before the Presbytery was unsatisfactory, being too full of free salvation, and his ordination was held in suspense. Then came the upheaval.

William Kinkade did not ally himself with the new church until three years after Cane Ridge revival. We have already seen how he reached his position by absolutely independent study of Scripture. He called himself simply a Christian and refused Calvinistic doctrines.

Such were the ideas and such the movement that upheaved the crust of the prevalent church and religious life.

¹ Stone, p. 151.

² Purviance, p. 139.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER III

See works cited at the end of Chapters I and II.

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CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER IV

PERIOD OF SPORADIC GROWTH

1805-1818

THIS new movement passed through a decade of growth that was phenomenal in some aspects, and the journals of early ministers are extremely interesting, abounding, as they do, in that spontaneity which was so characteristic of their ministry.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOVEMENT

No organization yet appeared in the North and West, and but the simplest in the South. Like seeds borne far away and widely scattered by the wind, germinating and springing up in most out-of-the-way places, the seeds of this new movement for religious liberty were quickly and widely disseminated, and appeared most unexpectedly. It was a truly sporadic growth.

Because it was a movement among the common people it was tremendously popular. Many ministers came from among the people, and lacked scholastic training. Often they prejudiced their hearers against an educated ministry, and against orderly proceedings. Coming from the common walks of life, educated to mediocrity or little above it, and yet possessed of unquestioned ability, they appealed powerfully to their fellows because they spoke the language of the average heart and voiced a common feeling.

This preaching was powerfully emotional and thoroughly spontaneous. A single text-book, the Bible, provided preachers with their whole stock in trade. It must be confessed that in these latter days we have very superficial ideas about the sermon preparation of a hundred years ago. Given a man dead in earnest, with a book like the Bible, viewed as it was in

those days, a book read and re-read and largely committed to memory; and given a man whose mind, thoroughly awakened, was charged to the brim with Scripture, and solemnized by prayer-vigil and lonely meditation; and given the motion and fire of delivery prevalent in those days, and you have a generator of tremendous sensations and impressions. The sermon might be fanciful and extemporaneous, but it could not be unprepared. The exegesis was faulty no doubt, but the application was direct and pointed. Many a sermon abounded in oratorical grace and fascination, and contained a residuum of homely truth that was wholesome and palatable. Notes were tabooed and regarded as a stigma. Fortunately the Scriptures are mostly plain and comprehensible, and early preachers of the Christians were clearly heralds of Gospel truth. The old men who listened to preachers of a hundred years ago have carefully declared for our benefit that the preaching was singularly Scriptural and evangelical, and rarely polemical. Brochure and pamphlet and essay might clangor with theological warfare; but the preacher was singularly alive to his duty in declaring the Gospel.

The movement was at first almost without meeting-houses or property. In the South O'Kelly's followers soon began to erect chapels, a few were built in New England, and a few in Kentucky. But oftener a school-house or private dwelling afforded place for meeting in cold or inclement weather. When suitable weather allowed, great concourses of people gathered in barns, in groves, beside the rude highway, and sometimes, to escape molestation, even went to the plowed field. On account of their revivalistic gifts the leading ministers awakened great revivals and often reaped great harvests of converts for other churches. But whatever else may be said of the preachers, they went to the people, met them in homeliest of meeting places, and moved them to the core. Thus the movement went from settlement to settlement, neighborhood to neighborhood, and town to town. The people gave heed.

But there were persecutions withal. Ministers were treated with indignity; hoodlums disturbed and broke up services; property was sometimes destroyed; adherents of the new church were under social disability; professional men even found it sometimes necessary to withdraw from the new fellowship. At rare intervals, and especially in cities, mob violence was resorted to in routing the Christians. The party of religious liberty was attacked in sermon and pamphlet, and made a butt of ridicule. And yet in this there was nothing especially novel.

Having broken away from ecclesiasticism, the early preachers would tolerate no approach to ways of the abhorred creed sects. Religious worship was severely simple. A hymnology was developed for the movement. Musical instruments were generally frowned upon. Formalism and ritual were avoided, and every congregation was a law to itself. Lusty singing, plain Scripture reading, earnest extempore prayer, and an extempore sermon sufficed as spiritual pabulum. On the Sabbath three services a day were not uncommon. Any brother who thought himself called to preach was allowed to "improve," or exhort. Hence a large number of young preachers was soon rallied to the movement.

An institution grew up in the north that still persists in many churches. About 1812 the "monthly meeting" was instituted in Vermont, a combination of business and devotional services; at which time the church's business was transacted, new members were voted in after relating their experience and giving evidence of fitness for church membership, and the people present spoke of their experience or progress during the month past. Such meetings were often largely attended and thoroughly revivalistic. They were common in New England and New York, and perhaps other parts.

A peculiarly New England kink was the dual organization of church and society. The latter existed for sake of the former, to support preaching, and usually controlled the church

property. Anybody who wished, provided he were of suitable age and character, might join the society and help support preaching. But only Christians belonged to the church. It will be seen how a church might get at variance with the society, and find itself without a meeting place.

Prayer and social meetings were common everywhere, and most frequently held in private homes. Gradually the weekly prayer service came to occupy a certain evening every week. The greatest freedom of song, exhortation, relating of experience, and reminiscence was allowed; the social meeting was a decided power and success.

Of church organization there were but few elements. Believing that prevalent methods of organizing churches were unscriptural, the brethren in the East were accustomed to vote to consider themselves a church of Christ, and new members were later received without doctrinal test or examination. Much the same procedure obtained in the West. Almost no bar hindered any man who came under the spell and desired to join the church. Whatever they read in the New Testament of organization, elder, deacon, and discipline, sufficed. Indeed, the new denomination hoped to restore primitive Christianity, both doctrine and polity.

Furthermore, the early ministry was almost wholly itinerant and evangelistic. Some men were ordained as "traveling evangelists,"¹ it being understood that they would not seek settled pastorates. Men who were settled over churches nevertheless made many and long journeys preaching and organizing churches. A "hireling ministry," that is, a ministry settled and enjoying a stipulated salary, was especially displeasing to the northern section of the movement. Were not the Apostles and their successors errant heralds of the cross? Would they have settled comfortably with churches, when men all around them and farther away were unconverted, and pitching into a Christless eternity?

¹ Like Elias Smith.

A most interesting account of the labors of Rev. Daniel Roberts in southeastern Indiana, in those early days, sheds light on the ministerial customs. It should be remembered that Mr. Roberts was a contemporary of Barton W. Stone, David Purviance, Nathan Worley, and such stalwarts. "Such a thing as a stationed preacher over or in one church was utterly unknown. It was as natural for preachers to be traveling as it was for the birds to be flying. In our thoughts in those days preaching and traveling were inseparably associated. The country was new. It was only a day's journey to the Indian towns. The white settlements were separated by considerable stretches of wilderness, and not very large when they were reached. The churches were small and few in number."¹

Very patent are the results of such an itinerancy. Even remote settlements and sparsely settled districts, country as well as town, heard the greatest revivalists and strongest preachers. Churches sprang up everywhere and thrived for a time; but those churches nearest the beaten tracks and oftenest visited were likely to be most thrifty, while those visited at rare intervals languished. It followed too that the whole new movement was intensely Biblical. Preachers brought the Bible forward in a most effective way. Creeds were denied, and ecclesiastical procedures thrown out of court. People were set to reading and studying the Bible, and church polity was extracted from the New Testament. Apostolic and subsequent history was ransacked. The people who soon were known as the "Christians" have never received due credit for their part in exalting the Bible to popular study.

Ordinations were conducted with extreme simplicity. John Rand, a young man raised up under the preaching of Abner Jones and Elias Smith, was by them ordained, the first recruit to the New England ministry. David Purviance held like distinction in the west. Two or more ministers shared the

¹ Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Elder Daniel Roberts, by Rev. H. L. Jameson, D. D., 1882. P. 6.

ordination service. A sermon appropriate for the occasion was followed by an ordaining prayer and imposition of hands. Gradually and later other parts were added to the service.

No delegated conventions or conferences were held during the sporadic period. "Elders' conferences" and "general meetings" were frequent, the former especially for ministers, always informal and merely conferential. Notices were published for general meetings and everybody invited who cared to attend. Almost nothing of a business nature was attempted. At these general meetings it was quite customary to introduce new ministers and candidates to public attention. Visitors from a distance were sought, and ministers frequently traveled long journeys in severe weather for sake of fellowship at a general meeting.

And so the sporadic growth continued for a series of years. Perhaps we should pause here and give a categorical answer to the question, How did the three sections of Christians become united? They were first organized in Virginia, the polity being largely shaped by suggestions of two men, Haggard and Hafferty. Then men like Haggard and Clement Nance journeyed westward into Kentucky. Haggard was present in Kentucky, and suggested to Stone and the brethren at Cane Ridge, when the Springfield Presbytery was dissolved, that they should organize as the Christian Church had organized in Virginia. This was done. From this time forward, ministers passed back and forth between Virginia and North Carolina and Kentucky. From Kentucky ministers went northward into Ohio and western Pennsylvania; from Virginia they went northward into Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania. From New England and New York ministers journeyed southward into New Jersey, southeastern and northern Pennsylvania. Some, like Elias Smith and Frederick Plummer, visited Virginia. At a little later period fraternal messengers were exchanged between the sections.¹ At this point another

¹ See Ap., p. 371.

agency arose to unite the whole movement. In the thriving town of Portsmouth, then the largest and most important town of New Hampshire, lived Rev. Elias Smith, pastor of a rapidly-increasing congregation. In the sketch of Smith's life an account has been given of his meeting with Hon. Isaac Wilber, of Rhode Island, and the talk about establishment of a religious newspaper. Smith generously attributes the newspaper idea to the congressman; but since he was already in the publishing business he could hardly have failed to conceive the paper idea himself. Wilber had proffered financial assistance. These overtures Smith evaded, resolving however, to establish a paper under his own free editorial management. This he did, and September 1, 1808, the first number of the first religious newspaper in the world was issued from Smith's residence in Portsmouth, near Jeffrey Street. Mr. Wilber had expressed the opinion that some one ought to declare the religious liberty compatible with true civil liberty. And so Smith espoused the cause of religious liberty and the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* was its exponent while Smith issued the journal. Moreover, it was a *religious newspaper*, its editor proving an able, brilliant journalist, impetuous in fighting error and a naturally versatile expounder of religious liberty, and what seemed to him New Testament Christianity.

That Smith started a vigorous periodical is evidenced by its absorption since then of no less than a dozen periodicals and an unbroken career of one hundred years. The paper still continues to champion the early position of the Christians, and is published at Dayton, Ohio, owned by The Christian Publishing Association, a corporation representing the denominational publishing interests. In the Appendix is a graphic history of the *Herald* telling the story quite completely.¹

While the *Herald's* circulation did not meet its founder's hope, yet the paper went into nearly every state of the Union. Two hundred seventy-four subscribers received the first issue;

¹ See Ap., opposite p. 372.

seven years later the circulation was between fourteen and fifteen hundred. The very earliest issues reached Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana. Inquiries from South¹ and West elicited information that the movement for religious liberty, with identical spirit and practice, existed in those states and New England. Proposals for a union were made and accepted, and the three separate bodies of people calling themselves simply "Christians" were cemented by another bond. This was the foremost achievement of the *Herald* during this period.²

WHERE THE SEED TOOK ROOT

In that journal appeared correspondence and news from many sections, indicating how the movement was spreading. Churches in Virginia and North Carolina were multiplying rapidly. O'Kelly and Haggard and their brother ministers were very active. Young ministers added new strength to the cause. Some preachers went to Georgia and Alabama. Meantime Frederick Plummer, Elias Smith, John P. Gray and other northern men entered northern Virginia, held revivals and established churches, some of which did not long survive. About 1810 Plummer visited Upperville and Fairfax and other places in that vicinity.³ Gray labored in Fairfax, Shenandoah and Caroline Counties the same year. There are many records of baptisms in the historical Shenandoah River. Gray preached in Providence, Smithfield, Portsmouth, Norfolk and other towns.⁴ Elias Smith visited much of the same territory a year later and left the country in an uproar over theological doctrines.⁵ The year after this Joseph Thomas, the "White Pilgrim" (so named from his white clothing), held revivals at Frederick, New Town and other places.⁶

The year 1811 was one of great religious awakening in Georgia. John P. Gray went to Georgia with others and held

¹ H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 43.
168, 173.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 473.

² See Ap., p. 372.

³ H. G. L., Vol. I, pp.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 355.

⁶ Ibid.,

Vol. IV, pp. 371, 383.

remarkable revivals.¹ From Georgia the reformers went to Alabama. We have a little hint of their progress there.

In Kentucky from 1804 onward the Christians had been making rapid headway. In 1809 great reformatations and thousands of converts were reported,² which meant large accessions to Christian churches. A year later several Baptist churches in Christian County changed denominational relationship and theological position and joined the Christians.³ There were in Kentucky several Baptist churches standing practically on the position represented by the Christians, but still clinging to their Baptist name and manner of association, and calling themselves "Separate Baptists." The Elkhorn Association of Separate Baptists allied itself with the new movement in 1811.⁴ Plain Christian churches existed in Fleming County, as well as in those counties where Stone, Purviance, Rice Haggard and the earliest leaders labored.⁵

Of the original seceders from the Presbyterians in Kentucky, McNemar, Dunlavy and Thompson preached in southern Ohio. Andrew Ireland, John Purviance and Reuben Dooly also went to Ohio. Stone made trips to that country, and in 1807 Purviance moved to Preble County, Ohio, preaching and traveling there and in Indiana.⁶ Churches began to multiply in Ohio. About 1811 an Association of the "Separate Baptists" in Meigs County quit its name and creed, and joined the Christians.⁷

The reformers went to Tennessee and established churches. Stone and others journeyed thither.⁸ In a letter to the *Herald*, dated in 1811, Joseph Thomas described the cause in Tennessee as very prosperous,⁹ as it was in Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana territory.

Romance attaches to the story of the movement's advent

¹ H. G. L., Vol. IV, p. 359, V, p. 455. A few names of ministers then active in Georgia have been preserved, viz., Murrill Pledger, P. L. Jackson, John P. Purdue, Joseph Echolls, Thomas Jordan, George L. Smith, Jacob Callahan, Coleman Pendleton and Isaac A. Parker. ² Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 40, 74. ³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 159. ⁴ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 363. ⁵ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 403. ⁶ Purviance, pp. 49, 59, 66. ⁷ Stone, pp. 70-72. ⁸ Ibid., p. 67. ⁹ H. G. L., Vol. III, p. 294.

in Indiana. Elder Clement Nance, one of the men who, after O'Kelly, withdrew from the early Methodists, moved to Indiana Territory in 1805, settling near the Ohio River. That year he organized a Christian church in Clark County, and other congregations sprang up in that sparsely settled country.¹ Unusual religious interest developed. Within seven years Nance reported four ministers and five churches in that part of the Territory. Other ministers entered from Ohio and Kentucky and established thriving churches.

Names of twenty or more of the early ministers in Indiana have come down to us, without, however, details of their labors. Daniel Roberts, of Maine, emigrated to the west in 1817, stopping first at Cincinnati, after floating down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh. He eventually settled in Dearborn County, Indiana, a little west of Cincinnati, preached in that county, in Franklin, Ohio, Switzerland and Jefferson Counties. Churches were planted in the eastern side of Indiana as far north as Wayne County, then southward and across the southern end of Indiana, and northward on the west side to Sullivan County. Settlements were sparse, confined chiefly to watercourses. Elder Roberts traveled in southern Indiana, southwestern Ohio, and into central Kentucky. More than two hundred churches were organized by him.²

The labors and travels of Abner Jones and Elias Smith in New England have already been mentioned. Churches sprang up in every New England state. The movement reached northward into Maine. Young Mark Fernald became a revivalist of power in that state. Ephraim Stinchfield and others were journeying and evangelizing. The Christians' movement reached into New Brunswick, Rev. Samuel Nutt being the chief apostle there, and on into Nova Scotia.³ Frederick Plummer, then a young man of remarkable gifts, John Rand, Uriah Smith, brother of Elias, and many others, traversed New Hampshire and Vermont. The latter state was but sparsely

¹ H. G. L., Vol. V, p. 423.
before quoted. P. 6 ff.

² Memorial Address by H. L. Jameson, D. D.,
Smith, p. 364.

settled then. In 1806 two churches were gathered in Woodstock, Vermont, and others in neighboring towns. Stowe, Cabot and other places in the northern part of the state were visited, as were some northern New Hampshire towns.

The entrance of the Christians into lower Canada (Province of Quebec) fascinates like a novel. The War of 1812 was on and communication and travel between the States and Canada were seriously interrupted. Elder Joseph Badger's father had moved into Canada, and young Joseph concluded to visit his parents and preach the Gospel on the way. He carried out his intention, but suffered arrest and some indignity. Later with two young ministers, J. L. Peavey and Joseph Boody, he made another circuit, again suffering arrest with his companions.¹ Badger never forgot his trip to Ringsey, an entirely godless place, where he met almost no friendly person and was allowed to go hungry. But people who were constrained to give him a hearing were moved and started a reformation. Months later the whole town turned out *en masse* to welcome him. The places visited by these ministers have been entirely forgotten in the history of the Christian denomination, and were Ascott, Melbourne, Shipton, Hatley, Stanstead, Brompton, Compton, Westbury, Ringsey, Dudswell, Oxford and Windsor. The so-called "general meetings" were held among these congregations as they were in New England.

How the Christians were planted in Pennsylvania has already been indicated. Frederick Plummer, of New England, a man of great oratorical gifts, was preaching in Philadelphia in 1810, and later served churches in other towns. However, the work had previously reached the German-speaking population of Philadelphia and nearby places through ministers from Virginia.² Plummer was the most popular advocate of the Christians in this part of the state, and says that he preached to an audience of ten thousand people in the old

¹ Badger, pp. 77, 133 ff.

² H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 23. letter of Robert Punshon.

Philadelphia navy-yard.¹ Elias Smith attracted many adherents when he resided in Philadelphia and traveled round about, and yet churches of the Christians were never numerous in southeastern Pennsylvania. About two thousand members were reported from Wayne County, northeastern Pennsylvania, in 1811.² The same year a *Herald* correspondent reported the ingathering of between three and four hundred converts among churches in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania, probably in the territory of what is now known as Tioga Christian Conference. Twenty-six ministers were laboring there then, indicating existence of many adherents of religious liberty in that section.³ A year later churches were reported from Washington County, southwestern Pennsylvania, near the homes of the Campbells, Alexander and Thomas, but this was long before the day of the Disciples of Christ.⁴

The Christians also entered Maryland. Attention has been called to Plummer's Virginia trip and to northward journeys of ministers from Virginia. On his way south, Plummer visited the city of Washington, and on one occasion preached to large audiences in the capital.⁵ But the first minister of the Christians to preach there was probably James O'Kelly. Well founded tradition says that Thomas Jefferson secured the hall of Congress and had O'Kelly preach there twice.

Usually Jasper Hazen, of Vermont, is said to have organized the first Christian Church in New York at Baltimore, Green County, in 1812; but there was a Christian Church in Otsego County in 1808,⁶ just the origin of which is not stated. David Millard was the first young minister among the Christians to be ordained in that part of new York.⁷ Within a few

¹ H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 182. ² Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 359, 366. Some of the ministers of those sections are mentioned. Sylvanus Campbell, Joshua Shoaies, Gideon Louls, Enoch Owens, Samuel Crooker, and John Taylor. H. G. L., Vol. VI, p. 530. ³ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 367. ⁴ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 451. ⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 173. ⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 367. ⁷ Freese, p. 123. Among the earliest ministers mentioned in this section are Crawford W. Martin, John Spoor, Reuben Alerton, Chester Scovel, Jonathan S. Thompson, Jabez Kling, James Wilson, John Ross and a Free Baptist minister named Mrs. Nancy Cram.

years churches were gathered at Freehold, Westerlo, Milan, Canajoharie, and other places in Greene, Albany, Schoharie, and Dutchess Counties.¹ As a result of Nancy Cram's labors, a church was organized at Charleston, about 1813, which has been noted for producing ministers, the names of about a dozen being on record. Mrs. Cram went to Ballston and held a great revival which resulted, in 1814, in another church that has sent forth several ministers, perhaps the most remarkable of them being Mrs. Abigail Roberts. The earliest ministers in New York were from New England. The cause grew rapidly, both by multiplication of ministers and churches.

The foregoing review showing the geographical spread of the Christians, has given hints of their numerical strength. No complete or reliable reports or early statistics have been preserved; indeed, some refused to "number Israel" for fear of falling under divine displeasure as the old Hebrews did. However, there are a few scattered statements worth noticing. In 1808, when proposals for union of the Christians in Virginia, Kentucky and New England were made, there were said to be twenty thousand members in the South and West.² Two years later there were forty organized churches in New York, with membership of probably not less than thirty-five hundred. In 1814 New England reported forty-nine ministers.³ The western membership was estimated at several thousand. Northeastern Pennsylvania contained two thousand Christians, and the rest of Pennsylvania and New York must have had three thousand more. Most phenomenal was the rapid increase of ministers in Vermont and New York.⁴ That meant multiplication of churches and adherents.

The initial movement of the Christians came through defections from the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians; but thereafter accessions of ministers and church-members came mostly from conversions, the natural fruits of legitimate

¹ Freese, pp. 203-207.
² Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 575.

³ H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 43. See Ap., p. 372.
⁴ See Chris. Reg. for 1821 and 1823.

efforts to build the church of God, and not upon proselyting or undermining or work among other denominations. Moreover, the Christians were slow in gathering revival fruits and natural adherents into their churches. They did not seek to build a great rival denomination. They could be content to decrease if religious liberty might increase. Opportunities for numerical greatness have been abundant, but the people sought an end greater than numerical greatness.

DECLARING THEIR POSITION

In preceding chapters we have seen only the negative and destructive position of the new denomination. We will pause just here to let early leaders declare themselves positively, quoting from their early writings, North and South. When William Guirey inquired in 1809 through the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* what was the position of the Christians in New England, Elias Smith answered through the same medium, stating their position in this form: 1. No head over the church but Christ. 2. No confession of faith except the New Testament. 3. No religious name but "Christian."¹ To this Guirey replied that the southern Christians stood on the same ground. He said: "After we became a separate people, three points were determined on: 1. No head over the church but Christ. 2. No confession of faith, articles of religion, rubric, canons, creeds, etc., but the New Testament. 3. No religious name but Christians. For several years I have been a minister in this church and have traveled among the members from Philadelphia to the southern frontiers of Georgia."² Thus far had they gone in formulating their position, both North and South. In the Appendix³ are given several more quotations serving to show that Guirey was speaking the common mind of brethren in the South.

We have already seen that in Virginia the name "The

¹ H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 47.

² Ibid., Vol. I, p. 43.

³ See Ap., p. 373 ff.

Christian Church" was adopted from the beginning, and that through Virginian influence the Kentucky contingent adopted the same name. At the North, while "Christian" was everywhere a current word, the whole body was often called "Christian Connection," a sobriquet at once free from smack of presumption which some read into the term "The Christian Church." Abner Jones says that Elias Smith started the barbarous pronunciation "Christ-yan," and sectarians grasped with avidity the outlandish name. In Kentucky, all seceders from the Presbyterian Church during the great revival were called "Schismatics," and "New Lights," the latter nickname given because the seceders professed to have an inner witness of the Spirit and minor revelations for their guidance.¹ When the Disciples appeared on the scene twenty years later, they were styled "Reformers," but the people whose history is contained in this volume have held scrupulously to the names "Christians," and "The Christian Church." James O'Kelly said, "Brethren, if we are Christ's, then are we Christians from His authority, His *name* and His divine nature."² He also said that "Christian" is the new name mentioned in prophecy.³

¹ McNemar, p. 29.

² H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 40.

³ Isaiah 62: 2.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER IV

Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vols. I-VIII, by Elias Smith, published at Portsmouth, N. H., Portland, Me., Philadelphia, Pa., and Boston, Mass. 1808-1817.

A History and Advocacy of the Christian Church, by J. R. Freese, M. D. Christian General Book Concern, Philadelphia, Pa., 1848. Third edition 1852.

History of the Christian Church, by N. Summerbell, D. D., before referred to.

Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger, by E. G. Holland. C. S. Francis & Co., New York. Third edition, 1854.

Christian Palladium, Vols. I-VI, edited by Joseph Badger. Christian General Book Association, Union Mills, N. Y., 1832-1838. Scattered articles.

Gospel Luminary, Vols. I-IX, by David Millard, and by David Millard and Simon Clough, West Mendon and New York City, 1825-1833. Scattered articles.

Also biographies of James O'Kelly, B. W. Stone, David Purviance, and Elias Smith, cited in previous chapters.

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER V

EARLY CONFERENCE ORGANIZATIONS—"CAMPBELLISM"

1819-1832

TO MORE observant reformers a new denomination now seemed inevitable, if results of the movement thus far were to be conserved. Hence they faced the logic of events, not without trepidation and misgivings; for another sect was undesirable, and imitation of existing sects would be as inevitable as it was that the old Israelites should pattern after their heathen neighbors. Observant men had already seen another thing: their sporadic unorganized movement laid both laity and ministry open to endless imposition, loss of prestige, and charge of abetting charlatans. Meager and slender was their church organization, and both ministers and congregations multiplied like mushrooms. Ministers had no organized fellowship, no regulative or advisory body to pass judgment upon candidates' fitness, and no authority to vouch for ministers' good standing or to signify disfellowship.

Ever since 1808 conferences of elders and general meetings of a free-for-all type had been held, several of them a year; but as no business was attempted, no organization was needed. Churches had no defined relations with each other and no prescribed methods for co-operation. All associations had been purely voluntary and thoroughly independent. But in a few months all was changed.

In 1816 the whole brotherhood was chagrined and thrown into consternation by announcement of that soul of the new movement, Elias Smith, through his *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, that he had espoused the Universalist faith. Strong men wept at the announcement, and violent resentment against Smith

was manifested. Some of his co-laborers turned their backs upon him and never afterward trusted nor forgave him. To rescue the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* from ignominy, a layman of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Robert Foster, bought the paper, moved it back from Boston, and continued the publication until 1835, when, on account of bankrupted health and finances, he sold it to an association of brethren known as Eastern Christian Publishing Association. Under Foster's editorship the paper lost its aggressiveness, brilliance and leadership in promoting the denomination; but it still continued a valuable organ of communication and an indispensable adjunct to the infant cause.

The conference idea already existed in a hazy form, with but two or three working organizations. A conference had been organized in Kentucky in 1804, the records of which are still extant.¹ This was close upon formation of the church in that state. The Big Sandy Conference in southeastern Kentucky is said to have been organized about this time. S. Mason wrote in September, 1878, that the seventy-first annual session of Deer Creek, Ohio, Christian Conference had just closed.² The usage in reckoning conference sessions has not been uniform, some officers calling the meeting *after* formation the first annual conference. Mason's statement would take the first session of Deer Creek Conference back to 1807 or 1808. The seventh Virginia Conference met in 1821.³ William Kinkade says⁴ that a Christian Conference in the southern Wabash country, Territory of Indiana, was organized in 1817 (but no particulars have come down to us), and that the Conference on the Wabash in Illinois dates its origin back to 1818, when it was considered a branch of the Indiana organization.⁵ The idea of county and state conferences was put

¹ Chris. An., 1898, p. 114; H. G. L., October 6, 1910.

² H. G. L., September 21, 1878.

³ Chris. Her., Vol. IV, p. 110.

This was probably the immersionist branch of the Virginia Christians.

⁴ Kinkade, p. 300.

⁵ Ibid.,

p. 300.

forward during a General Conference of 1816, at Windham, Connecticut, but nothing came directly of that suggestion.¹

"Elder's conferences," spoken of a few pages back, should be regarded as forerunners of the local conferences;² while the "general meetings" correspond closely to quarterly conferences later in vogue.

Closely following Smith's lapse into Universalism, a conference of ministers met in Portsmouth to plan means for obviating inroads of a seemingly perverse faith only a step removed from an abandoned life. Other conferences followed, and in September, 1817, a delegated gathering met at New Bedford, Massachusetts, where Smith's fall from grace was discussed and general organization was bruited. The meeting adjourned, however, without provision for perpetuating itself. It was agreed that neighboring elders and churches should be counseled with in formation of new churches; that baptism should be administered only by churches' consent; that all baptized persons should seek church relationship; that a church must approve before a member should be ordained an elder; that each elder should have church membership; and that discipline should be meted out to ministers and churches. Finally agreeing upon the advisability of holding an annual conference, adjournment was taken.

West, South and North the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* carried tidings about Smith, and about the conference idea, and in each section near the same date conferences were born. We can scarcely more than mention organizations for this period, 1819-1832, reserving a chronological list for the Appendix.³ Conferences had unquestionably been held in Virginia and North Carolina for several years, but records were almost immediately destroyed, to hinder their becoming instruments of oppression. The Virginia Christian Conference, according to extant records, dates back to 1818. A year later it was

¹ Fernald, p. 87.

² Freese, p. 174; Chris. Pall., XIX, pp. 14, 15.

³ See Ap., p. 376.

made Eastern Virginia Christian Conference. At Pittsford, New York, a conference of "elders and brethren" was held in 1817 preliminary to a general yearly conference of elders for that state, the organization of which was set for the next year.¹ Conferences of "elders and brethren" were called whenever deemed advisable, to adjudicate church troubles, discipline or ordain ministers. The New York Christian Conference, duly organized in 1818, was divided into Eastern and Western two years later.² A conference was formed in Maine in 1818. From now on they multiplied rapidly: Mad River (now Miami Ohio), New Hampshire, Vermont, Southern Ohio, Connecticut, Athens (Ohio), Norfolk (Virginia), Massachusetts, Central Indiana, Upper Canada (Province of Ontario), North Carolina and Virginia; New York Central, created by dividing the Western body; Rhode Island and Connecticut, Salt Creek (Ohio) about this time; New York and Erie, formed by a slice of the New York Western in the southwestern corner of the state, together with a few churches in northeastern Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania;³ Sunbury (Ohio), which became Ohio Central in 1830; North Carolina, where several hundred Free Will Baptists were expected to join; Union Christian, comprising a few churches in the northwestern part of Kentucky and adjacent parts of Indiana; New Jersey, result of labors which began in 1826, the first church being organized at Vernon, in Sussex County; Cole Creek (now Western Indiana); New York Northern; New Hampshire, divided, in 1832, into so-called "county conferences," Rockingham, Strafford and Merrimack; New Brunswick, along the St. John's River, where there were twenty churches; Eastern North Carolina, to accommodate churches in that part of the state; and Maine now had three conferences.

How the Christians entered New Brunswick and Nova Scotia from Maine, and how they entered Province of Quebec

¹ Records New York Western Christian Conference.
² Chris. Her., III, p. 71.

³ New York Western records.

from northern New England, has been recounted. It remains to say that they entered Province of Ontario by way of New York, and in the following manner:¹ under the preaching of Elder David Millard, in Greenville, N. Y., a woman was converted by the name of Mrs. Mary Stogdill, who with her family moved to Newmarket, Ontario, in the year 1821. She had been thoroughly imbued with the position of the Christians, and not finding any church of her choice in Canada, she wrote home to New York friends telling them of her lonesomeness and longing for fellowship with the Christians. Some of her letters were published in the *Christian Herald*, urging that ministers be sent into Ontario. In the summer of 1821 a young preacher named Allen Huntley crossed from New York and visited Mrs. Stogdill. He was invited to Lake Simcoe by Darius Mann, preached there, gathered material for a church, and received ordination there October 21, the same year. Two elders from New York, J. T. Bailey and Simeon Bishop, organized Keswick church, at Lake Simcoe, about the time of Huntley's ordination. New York brethren sent Nathan Harding and Asa C. Morrison to preach and organize churches in the Province, and a good many ministers of the Christians visited there and preached in immediately following years. By 1830 more than ten churches had been established, most of them still in existence. Moreover, a number of ministers had been raised up—Thomas Henry, J. W. Sherrard, Jesse Van Camp, Sisson Bradley and William Noble, and perhaps others.

The difficulties of the infant cause in Ontario were fully as great as those encountered in the United States. New York ministers were suspected, because they hailed from United States soil; the cause was suspected because it was imported, and because its doctrines did not accord with those usually heard. The ministers were under legal disability, until 1845.

In 1825 the Ontario Christian Conference was organized,

¹ Cent. Book, pp. 503, 581-589. • Chris. Her., Vol. IV, p. 43.

usually spoken of then as the Conference of Upper Canada, to distinguish it from the country farther down the St. Lawrence River known as Lower Canada.

Mrs. Stogdill lived to welcome a dozen Christian ministers to her home, and to see thirty churches organized, twenty-three of them worshipping in their own buildings, all within fifteen years. Multiplication of churches continued with considerable rapidity until about 1850.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION

Organized delegated conferences were regarded askance by many who feared loss of independence for individuals and churches. Some older men vigorously expressed fears that dearly bought liberty was about to be forfeited. But safeguarding the ministry and churches outweighed all fears, and Christian conferences have been multiplying for nearly one hundred years.

The conference was regarded as a voluntary association. No minister or church was compelled to join, and some ministers and churches probably never did join. Whatever authority conference possessed was delegated by units composing conference—ministers in good standing, churches in good standing represented by their delegates. Members were careful not to compromise their own liberty or their churches' independence. Hence conference might discuss, admonish, advise, urge, but could not demand or legislate. True, some resolutions passed at annual sessions seemed peremptory, but they fell harmless. These early organizations were, therefore, merely voluntary modes of co-operation.

Almost immediately the character and standing of ministers and churches began to be inquired into at annual conferences, and cases of discipline or exclusion were recorded, showing that some tribunal was needed to preserve the brotherhood's good name and integrity. Qualifications for member-

ship were not uniform, but varied greatly; but in general Christian character was an indispensable condition.

Three types of organization were common, existing side by side. First, for the session only, with moderator and clerk who served only during the session. *Ad interim* there was no conference. Each session fixed time and place for the following conference, and then died. Conference records were destroyed to prevent their becoming binding enactments.¹ Second, some conferences elected moderator *pro tem.* and permanent clerk. This was town meeting style in New England, and was used in churches also. The clerk gave warning of the next annual session, and called that session to order, when a chairman was chosen. This gave a custodian for permanent records. Third, other conferences chose officers for a year, who served through the year, and formed an executive committee *ad interim*, that the conference might work the year round. This type was formed for business.

Conferences exchanged fraternal messengers, but otherwise had no connection, each framing its own laws and working in its own way. Uniformity was lacking; but an unwritten law made it courtesy for one conference to respect actions or declarations of sister bodies. If they issued manifestoes defining their faith and practice, yet such declarations were in no sense obligatory upon individuals or conferences, but simply explanatory.

GATHERING STATISTICS

In this period conferences began to gather and record and publish annual statistics, meager and incomplete and yet helpful to the historian.

In 1821 appeared "The Christian Register and Almanac,

¹ Compare with the following: "The brethren, after conversing freely, unanimously agreed to lay aside the Minute-Book for the present, for the following reason, viz.: That some of the brethren were opposed to it."—This in Indiana Christian Conference, 1829. *Chris. Mess.*, Feb., 1831, p. 40.

containing the Astronomical Calculations of an Almanac, for the year 1821; performed by Nathan Daboll. Likewise a variety of information respecting the Christian Churches, Preachers, etc., in the United States. Collected at a General Conference holden at Windham, Connecticut, on the 28th of October, 1820; published by order of the same." Printing for the first issue was done by Samuel Green, New London, Connecticut. That publication was issued in 1821, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1836, 1841, 1842, 1849, and 1852, without change of name,¹ and was forerunner of the present "Christian Annual." The first issue gave names of conferences, elders, licentiates and churches so far as ascertainable. However, printed data were too inaccurate to guide one in determining the full denominational strength. One thing appeared plain—the rapid increase of ministers, who came into being almost as quickly as the dragon's teeth Pyrrhus threw over his head were turned into armed soldiers. Rev. Joseph Badger made an extended tour through the West and South to observe conditions, gather statistics, and cement the bond of union between sections. He reported three hundred ministers and fifteen thousand church members in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama. Those figures substantially agree with William Kinkade's, published in his letter in 1825.² We especially note the figures for Kentucky and Tennessee, in view of what transpired there in 1832 and later: three conferences in Kentucky had fifty preachers, seventy-seven churches and about thirty-five hundred members.³ Tennessee had thirty-one preachers, sixty churches and four thousand communicants, in 1831.⁴ The membership in Indiana was estimated at three thousand in 1820.⁵ For the whole denomination in 1827 the *Christian Herald* estimated five hundred ministers, seven

¹ After the "Register and Almanac" ceased, the "Christian Almanac" was published from 1872-1881, the "Christian Year Book and Almanac," 1882-1891, the "Christian Year Book," 1892-1896, and then came the "Christian Annual."
² Chris. Her., Vol. IX, p. 50 ff. ³ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 52. ⁴ Gos. Lum., Vol. V, pp. 50, 51. ⁵ L. H. Jameson, D. D., in a memorial address delivered in 1882.

to ten hundred churches, and fifty thousand members.¹ Probably these figures were too large.²

What is of greater consequence is the fact that church properties were rapidly increasing in number and value. They promised permanence not otherwise possible. From all directions came reports of erection and dedication of large frame, brick or stone meeting-houses, adequate for their time and purpose. Thirty-six in Kentucky and twenty-eight in Ohio were reported in 1826. A majority of those in Kentucky were brick structures. No wonder that Mark Fernald wrote, in jubilant frame of mind in 1831, that the Christians were making glorious progress.³

"CAMPBELLISM"

Alexander Campbell, son of Thomas Campbell, came to America from Scotland in the fall of 1809. He was a young man of good education and address, member of the Presbyterian Church. Both father and son found themselves out of harmony with their church, and took ground common with the Baptists. The fall Alexander arrived, his father had organized "The Christian Association of Washington" (in southwestern Pennsylvania) and issued his "Declaration and Address." In this document Thomas Campbell declared that the church is one, that no uncharitable division should exist in it, that no articles of faith should be formulated, because Christians should obey nothing except what Christ and the New Testament enjoin. The New Testament is a perfect constitution for worship, for discipline, for government of the New Testament church, and a perfect rule for duties of members. He further insisted that human authority should not interfere where the New Testament is silent, that doctrinal statements

¹ Chris. Her., Vol. X, p. 80. ² Elijah Shaw estimated that there were 700 ministers and 50,000 communicants in 1833.—Chris. Her., Vol. XVI, p. 262, ³ Fernald, p. 236.

should not be made tests of church membership, and finally, that divisions in the church are evil and anti-Scriptural.¹

Alexander Campbell more or less completely fell in with his father's ideas, and labored with him. He had already associated with men who were advocating larger religious liberty; and scarcely had he joined the Christian Association of Washington before he was called upon to defend the "Declaration and Address." It was then that his leadership began, and his scholarship and ability were recognized. In May, 1811, at Brush Run, Pennsylvania, a church was organized upon the Campbell position, and Thomas Campbell became an elder, while Alexander was licensed to preach. The next year Alexander was ordained by the Brush Run church. As an itinerant preacher he traveled far and near in several states. The slogan of the Campbell movement was: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent."² It was in 1812 that Alexander settled upon immersion as the proper form of baptism, and with several others, including his father, was so baptized in 1813. Before long the whole Brush Run church was immersed, and that mode of baptism "became a condition of union and communion with the Brush Run church."³ A year later the Campbells and their church united with a Baptist Association. Until 1820 Alexander Campbell tilled his farm, preached as he had opportunity, and conducted a private seminary in his home in Bethany, West Virginia. He began publication of the *Christian Baptist* in 1823, which was continued till 1830, when the *Millennial Harbinger* took its place and assumed more decidedly than ever the role of religious reformer. He visited Kentucky the next year lecturing and preaching his peculiar views, and that year for the first time he and B. W. Stone met. This was thirty years after the Christians' movement began, and twenty

¹ Gates, p. 48 ff.

² Ibid., p. 154.

³ Ibid., p. 90.

years after Stone and his companions made their stand for an unsectarian Christianity in Kentucky.

As Campbell was still a Baptist, he got the ear of many people, and his paper exerted a wide influence. Immediately some Baptist preachers in Kentucky adopted his views and promulgated them. Campbell's acquaintance was cultivated by Stone, and some of Stone's co-laborers began to preach Campbell's doctrines, and a little later forwarded union between Christians and Reformers in Kentucky. Very rapid progress was made by Campbell's followers in southeastern Ohio, although their movement reached several other states, and gained ground rapidly in the "blue grass state." Baptists became thoroughly alarmed and began to disfellowship the Reformers, so that by 1832 they were "practically eliminated" from the Baptist Church and began a separate denominational existence.¹ But as Gates remarks: "It must not be forgotten that the movement was for the most part a propaganda among Baptist churches from 1813 to 1830."

When the Reformers were practically disfellowshipped by the Baptists, Campbell saw that nothing remained for his followers but independent existence. Not a few Baptist churches had bodily gone over to the Reformers; they had large fragments of others; Baptist forms of organization and procedure were continued for a time; and considerable property was brought from the Baptists to the Reformers.

Casting about for a name suitable for his new denomination, Campbell found several which he regarded as Scriptural, but a choice lay between "Christians" and "Disciples of Christ." Finally the latter name was chosen as being quite as Biblical and more distinctive, since the "Christians" had already worn that name more than thirty-five years in Virginia and North Carolina and more than twenty-five years in Kentucky.²

¹ Gates, p. 179. The Disciples of Christ were organized 1827. Harb., January, 1847. Chris. Pall., Vol. XV, p. 346.

² Mill.

A "union" between Christians and Reformers was effected in Kentucky. Many people find difficulty in comprehending that "union," and much that is erroneous has been said upon the subject. A "formal union" is even spoken of. That "union" was not like organic unions advocated in our day; and yet Stone says that effecting the union was the noblest act of his life.¹ He also describes the difference between the two denominations as the doctrine of baptism for remission of sins, and the weekly communion. In other respects they occupied identical ground, and the chief doctrines proclaimed by Campbell had been preached for years by the Christians.

The "union" itself was consummated on New Year's day, 1832, in Hill Street Christian Church, at Lexington, Kentucky, where representatives of both parties pledged themselves "to one another before God, to abandon all speculation, especially on the Trinity, and kindred subjects, and to be content with the plain declaration of Scripture on those subjects on which there had been so much worse than useless controversy."² The plain meaning is that they *found common ground to occupy, threw away their divisive teachings and opinions, and acted as one.* The men who at Lexington pledged themselves there and then gave one another the hand of fellowship, speaking for themselves, and the churches they came from, but not for all the churches or the denominations in Kentucky or the United States. There was no voting, and no attempt at formal union, but merely a "flowing together" of those like-minded.³ In token of that union Elder John Smith, of the Disciples of Christ, and Elder John Rogers of the Christians "were appointed evangelists by the churches" to promote that simple unsectarian Christian work, which was adhered to by thousands; and Stone took Elder J. T. Johnson, a Disciple, as co-editor of the *Christian Messenger*.

This "union" did not change the status of any name or

¹ Stone, p. 79.

² Ibid., p. 343.

³ Ibid., p. 141.

church or minister or piece of property. At a later time Campbell made some public invidious remarks about the Christians, and it began to be claimed that they had *joined* or *united with* the Disciples. John Rogers says on this point: "No one ever thought [at the first] that the Reformers, so-called, had come over to us, or that we had gone over to them; that they were required to relinquish their opinions, or we ours. We found ourselves contending for the same great principles, and we resolved to unite our energies to harmonize the church and save the world. Such are the simple facts in the case."¹

In 1844 Campbell published a letter addressed to him by John Rogers and three other evangelists, and by nine elders and deacons, touching his invidious remarks. Elder J. A. Gano, an evangelist, drafted the letter, in which appeared the following: "Now as we understand this matter here [in Kentucky], where the union between the Reformers and the Christians [or, as they were invidiously called, Campbellites and Stoneites] first commenced, you were not regarded as *saving* Brother Stone, and his associates, or they as *saving* you or yours; neither esteemed the speculations of the other as of a damning character. It was rather an equal, a mutual, and a noble resolve, for the sake of the gospel truth and union, to meet on common, or holy ground—the Bible; to abstain from teaching speculation or opinion; to hold such as private property, and to preach the gospel—to preach the word of God.

"It was not your joining Brother Stone as a leader, nor his joining you as such, but all rallying in the spirit of gospel truth, liberty and love, around the one glorious center of attraction—Christ Jesus; thus out of two making one new body, not Campbellites nor Stoneites, but Christians; and so making peace. May it long continue to bless our land!"²

Of similar tenor is a letter written by Elder J. T. Johnson, above referred to as co-editor of the *Christian Messenger* on

¹ Stone, p. 343.

² Ibid., p. 345.

behalf of the Reformers. He says: "The union was not a surrender of the one to the other; but it was a union of those who recognized each other as Christians. The union was based upon the Bible, and the terms therein contained—a union of brethren who were contending for the facts, truths, commands and promises, as set forth in the divinely inspired word, the Bible alone; with the express understanding that opinions and speculations were private property—no part of the faith delivered to the saints—and that such matters should never be debated to the annoyance and to the disturbance of the peace and harmony of the brotherhood."¹

It has been necessary to explain this matter at length, as it has been much misunderstood. There never has been a formal organic union between the Disciples of Christ and the Christians. There never has been so much as co-operation between the *denominations*, but only between the brethren and churches of Kentucky and contiguous states where the influence of men immediately concerned with the "union" was felt. Neither denomination or any part of it joined another; no leader in any wise changed his affiliation; no church changed its affiliation, until the two denominations fell apart because of widening differences. The "union" was such as Campbell and Stone advocated in their day; it was not such as agitation to-day looks toward.

Campbell made trips East and North, into New York, New England and Canada, preaching his views. His letters of that period indicate his disappointment over the results of those trips. Churches of the Christians in those sections were almost uninfluenced by Campbell, except that in "Upper Canada" a considerable number of brethren were agitated for a time.² The Disciples never gained a strong hold in the sections mentioned. By 1840 the "union" had been dissipated, with disastrous results to the Christians, as will be related later.

¹ Stone, pp. 345, 346.

² Badger, p. 338. Chris. Pall., Vol. III, p. 101.

From that day to the present co-operation between churches of the two denominations has been rare and local. Campbell repudiated the grounds of the first "union," Stone stuck by them to the last. To-day Stone's influence predominates above Campbell's, as regards name, and Disciples of Christ in the West and South style themselves "Christians" and "Christian Church," to the general confusion.

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CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONFERENCE—PUBLISHING ASSOCIATIONS— PUBLICATIONS

1819-1849

DENOMINATIONAL consciousness evolved slowly, and even a denominational spirit was absent in most sections of the brotherhood. In a foregoing chapter the sporadic, inchoate growth was detailed, which was followed by the formation of county or state or annual conferences; but now we will trace briefly the life of an institution which manifested a denominational consciousness, imperfect at first, fully developed later.

The general meetings, which were so common, North and South, were very much like the present quarterly conferences, given to counsel rather than to business. In New England the Free Baptists held such meetings. In 1809, according to Elijah Shaw, "Elders' Conferences" began to be held in connection with the general meetings, the first being held in Portsmouth, N. H., others following at frequent intervals.¹ That of 1816, at Windham, Conn., is spoken of as having been noteworthy. Then the first *delegated* Elders' Conference was called at New Bedford, Mass., 1817, but it was actually composed of both elders and laymen. The first regularly organized local conference, the records of which are extant, was in Kentucky, in 1804; the next in Virginia, in 1814; and the third was in New York, in 1818, composed of elders and of delegates sent by churches.

Abner Jones speaks of a "General Conference" being held in 1808 in Portsmouth, N. H.;² but probably the word "general"

¹ See Ap., p. 378.

² Chris. Her., Vol. XVI, p. 272.

was used in a little different sense from what it was later used in this connection. By a natural process the elders' or local conference may have suggested the general conference idea; at any rate a general conference was called in June, 1816, at Windham, Connecticut, where Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania and Connecticut were represented; and yet nothing came in the way of organization from this meeting. A General Christian Conference convened at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1819, but this gathering was not delegated. It proceeded, however, to make recommendation that a General or United States Conference be formed to supplement the state or local conferences, and the state conferences were recommended to appoint messengers who should met at Windham, Connecticut, in 1820, to organize the said General or United States Conference. That gathering represented several states, one delegate, Nelson Millar, of Virginia, representing the South. It will be noticed, however, that only a small portion of the country found representation at Windham.

The order of conference development seems therefore, to be: first, the general meeting; then the elders' conference, which was forerunner of the local conference; third, the delegated conference of ministers and laymen; fourth, the regularly formed local conference; and last, the general conference, including the whole brotherhood.

The fathers proceeded very gingerly to create a General Association or Conference, because some of them had experienced the sting of the ecclesiastical whip and fought shy of creating a body to snap the lash over them or their brethren. The dissipation of force and impossibility of properly safeguarding the young churches impelled the fathers to more effective organization; hence the birth of the United States Christian Conference, which held its first delegated session in

1820.¹ Even this body was loosely organized. It had no continuous life between sessions. A moderator presided, a clerk engrossed the minutes, a committee appointed when session began prepared business for the session, the meeting designated time and location for the next conference, and the gathering died. There were no committees or executive boards acting *ad interim*. The secretary might hold office from year to year, was responsible for keeping the few records, and warned the brotherhood when the next session approached. Usually the so-called general meetings preceded General Conference sessions. Such was the birth of the highest organized advisory body of the Christian denomination. Various names were given it in the records, but for several years it was called United States General Conference.

The second General Conference, in 1821, was presided over by John Rand, the first minister to be ordained under the auspices of the new denomination in New England. Reports from the several annual conferences were listened to, and resolutions were passed disposing of such reports. It was provided that messengers from local conferences and ordained preachers should compose the General Conference. The proceedings of the Virginia Christian Conference were approbated. An action looking toward continuous work was taken by appointment of a "revisory committee" to report at the next General Conference. This gathering of 1821 also declared its competency to deliberate upon questions referred from local conferences, or proposed by members present, to advise elders and brethren "concerning the order of the house of God, both in the ministry and churches, but not to interfere with the government of the several local conferences or churches."² The *Christian Herald*, although a private venture, was regarded as an official denominational organ for notices of conferences, and records of the same were ordered printed in that paper; and finally,

¹ See Ap., p. 378.

² Chris. Her., Vol. IV, p. 57.

the elders in the state or local conferences were urged to be diligent in obtaining names of preachers and their residence within the conference, names and locations of churches, together with such information as might help in obtaining knowledge of the condition prevailing throughout the brotherhood. Here we find the germ of what has grown to be the American Christian Convention, with its varied departments of work closely supervising, but not interfering with, work in local and state conferences. In 1826 the United States General Christian Conference met again at Windham, at which time Hervey Sullings presided. At that meeting the number of delegates from each local conference was limited to three, state conferences being restricted to one vote. This was drawing the line closer. A vote passed that conferences should give letters of recommendation to their members wishing to join other conferences. Fraternal relations came in for consideration, a committee being appointed to correspond with the General Baptists of England and another committee to correspond with the Congregational Convention on Long Island. Rev. Joseph Badger was made messenger to a conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, to bear the address prepared by a committee for that purpose. James Burlingame was appointed to consult with the editors of the *Gospel Luminary* and *Christian Herald* about uniting the two publications, locating them at New York, putting them under the United States Christian Conference, the proceeds of the publication to support a traveling ministry. Intemperance also came in for consideration.¹

Some acts of the General Conference meeting at West Bloomfield, New York, in 1827, were remarkable for their oddity. As a sample we cite the following: "Motioned and carried that it be not proper for us to apply the term *Reverend* to ministers. Moved and carried that we recommend to **all** the churches and preachers that they use their influence **to**

¹ Gos. Lum., Vol. II, pp. 237, 238.

prevent the introduction of instrumental music into our meetings and worship, and to suppress them where they have already been introduced." Before adjournment the next General Conference was called for 1829, omitting a session in the year 1828. Meantime a committee was to collect data for a history of the denomination. This session was not entirely harmonious.¹

We cannot follow the history of this Conference in detail, and that is not necessary, inasmuch as we are seeking a general view of denominational development. When Conference met in New York, in 1831, among other resolutions was one stating that measures adopted by the General Christian Conference should be considered as advisory only. This indicates the lurking fear which still existed regarding a centralized authority. Perhaps the most important action was that appointing a committee to deliberate upon the subject of a well conducted periodical. That committee reported within twenty-four hours, advising the formation of a book association according to articles of incorporation submitted. Article one designated the organization as the "Christian Book Association," although it came to be called more commonly the "Christian General Book Association." Its object was to print, bind and publish books and periodicals calculated to promote piety and Christian liberty, including Bibles, hymn-books, pamphlets and periodicals and any other works that might be designated or thought best. A board of trustees of nine was ordered, five of whom might form a quorum. The Association was to be a stock concern, trustees to be appointed at the annual meeting of the stockholders. Profits arising from the business should be invested to promote the interests of the Christian Connection. The committee's report was adopted. Almost immediately the stockholders of the Christian Book Association met, and elected trustees and executive committee and

¹ Chris. Her., Vol. X, pp. 155, 156.

officers.¹ At Milan, N. Y., in 1832, the Conference was dissolved "forever."² Hitherto representation had been local, with scattered delegates from a distance. For brethren to travel from the West or the South meant considerable expenditure of money and time. Opposition to the Conference itself, added to reasons just mentioned, caused the Conference to be dissolved.

Hardly had delegates returned home before they realized how serious a blunder had been committed. Coherence could not possibly be secured except by some general supervisory body, delegated certain powers and authority. The next year, largely through the instrumentality of Rev. I. N. Walter, an informal Conference met in New York City, in early summer, and issued a call and recommendation for a meeting at Milan, in October, to reorganize the General Conference.³ Conference convened and accomplished its purpose in due time. Some matters were not definitely determined, but left for the next session. When the Conference of 1834 met, at Union Mills, N. Y., some of the delegates thought that they were gathered under call from the Conference, some under call of the old Book Association. Difficulty was experienced, therefore, in determining the status of delegates; but finally a satisfactory reorganization⁴ was effected, both of the Conference and the Book Association, the former now to bear the name "General Christian Convention," the latter being called "Christian General Book Association." The Book Association was given authority to acquire the *Christian Palladium* or to publish a monthly periodical of that character, and to issue any other publications deemed warrantable, appointing editors, filling vacancies in its own body, choosing officers to

¹ The trustees were Martin Kochensperger, James Taylor, James McKeen, John Duckworth, John S. Taylor, Simon Clough, William Lane, Frederick Plummer, Isaac C. Goff. The officers were, Simon Clough, President; Isaac C. Goff, Secretary; Frederick Plummer, Treasurer. This Association continued in business for many years, as we shall see.—Gos. Lum., Vol. V, pp. 45-50.
² Chris. Her., Vol. XVI, p. 272. ³ Gos. Lum., Vol. VI, p. 345. ⁴ Chris. Pall., Vol. III, p. 225 ff.

carry out its own purposes, and managing funds accruing from the business. Rev. Joseph Badger was elected editor Hymnaries were to be published. That this was a brand new organization was made sure by resolution, declaring that this Association should not be bound to fulfill any contract made by the Christian Book Association, the Milan Convention or the Genessee Christian Association.¹ The next session of the Conference and Association met at New York City, in October, 1838. Delegates were present from Maine to Ohio; outside of delegates the attendance was large. At last the brethren seemed to realize the necessity of having a general Convention. Once more the Book Association monopolized attention. Inasmuch as that organization had not yet become a corporation, the Convention ordered incorporation at once. Elder David Millard was made editor of the *Christian Palladium* for the next current volume. Almost complete harmony characterized this Convention.

Both Convention and Book Association met at Stafford, New York, in 1842, the attendance still being large. Changes were made in publication of the *Palladium* by creating Elder Seth Marvin publishing agent. The Convention contemplated publishing a magazine with the caption *Christian Repository and Review*. A memorial from brethren in Ohio, asking for concurrence of the Book Association in publishing a periodical for the West, was passed upon favorably, such periodical to be auxiliary to the *Christian Palladium*, but controlled by an association organized by conferences in western states.² The final meeting of the Convention for this period convened at Union Mills, New York, October, 1846. Delegates were present from nine local conferences, and ministers and brethren from different sections were admitted to deliberate. The need of concentration was again felt, and the executive committee of the Book Association was ordered to solicit union of publishing

¹ *Chris. Pall.*, Vol. III, p. 227.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 156.

interests of the brethren in New Hampshire, Ohio and Canada, that a weekly paper and monthly magazine might be issued from Albany or Troy, New York, such co-operation being desired by January 1 following. The plan contemplated one resident editor, one corresponding editor in the East and one in the West. In case that proposition failed, then the executive committee was to commence the publication of a weekly paper and monthly magazine somewhere in New York. Considering the difficulty of securing books adapted to Sunday-school use, the executive committee was urged to secure or publish such as were adapted to schools of the Christian denomination. About this time Meadville Theological School was being established, Unitarians and Christians co-operating, and the Convention passed a resolution favoring resort of its prospective ministers to that institution.¹ A protest against slavery was presented and read to the Convention, but no general action was taken.

In this brief survey of the period from 1819 to 1849, it will be apparent that the General Conference or Convention became an absorbing theme. After its dissolution in 1832 more interest was awakened and department work began to be thought of. Publishing interests were especially emphasized. All this augured well for the future of the denomination. Just here may be introduced some history of the denomination's publishing affairs.

PUBLISHING ASSOCIATIONS

Several associations or corporations, of more or less denominational scope, have been formed for publishing purposes, at length contributing to or being merged into The Christian Publishing Association of the present. Never have any people appreciated the value of printer's ink better than the Christians. It is a question whether they have done more

¹The Christians eventually ceased co-operation, and Meadville School became distinctly a Unitarian school.

printing in proportion to their numbers in the last fifty years than they did in the first fifty.

Eastern Christian Publishing Association.—Mention has already been made of this Association which took the *Christian Herald* off of Robert Foster's hands in 1835.¹ January 1, of that year, the Association was formed at Hampton, N. H., and was a stock company, with an executive committee acting for the shareholders. The corporation itself met biennially. Other publications than the paper were issued, and it was the intention to do a general publishing business. Lack of capital greatly hindered; and yet considerable vigor was shown in maintenance of the *Christian Herald*.

Christian General Book Association.—When the United States Christian Conference met at New York, in 1831, it planned "The Christian Book Association," providing a constitution therefor contemplating a stock concern. A board of trustees was chosen, which met immediately, electing officers. With the dissolution of General Conference many understood also dissolution of the Book Association; so when reorganization of the Conference was effected in 1834, a new publishing agency was created, called "Christian General Book Association," which continued for many years. The Convention of 1850 divided the Association into a "book department" and a "periodical department," the latter remaining at Albany, N. Y., under management of Rev. Jasper Hazen, editor of the *Palladium*,² the former going to Philadelphia as the Christian General Book Concern, with J. R. Freese, M. D., as general agent, and with sub-agencies at ten cities East, South and West. About 1855 this Book Concern venture was abandoned, and the whole brought back under one head.

Then the streams flowed together, the *Palladium* being merged with the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* in 1862, and the latter becoming the property of The Christian Publishing

¹ See Ap., p. 380.

² See Ap., p. 381.

Association in 1868, being moved west, so that the interests of all three publishing agencies mentioned above are now, and have been since 1868, combined in The Christian Publishing Association.

Genessee Christian Association.—Upon the heels of the Book Association's first organization came the formation of yet another Association, in western New York, with the above name, and with an aim precisely like its contemporary's, except the proposal to issue a periodical at Rochester, N. Y., called *Gospel Palladium*. That periodical was actually launched the next year, and named *Christian Palladium*, although published at West Mendon, in Monroe County, N. Y. In 1834 it was acquired by the Christian General Book Association, and the Genessee organization ceased.

Ohio Christian Book Association.—The genesis of this organization is as follows: In Clark County, Ohio, not far from Springfield, the county seat, is a church called Ebenezer Chapel, where a conference was assembled in April, 1843. A few pages back reference was made to a memorial from western brethren relative to a western periodical. For a long time such a periodical had been needed, and its establishment had been favorably regarded by the General Conference. At Ebenezer Chapel, therefore, the Ohio Christian Book Association was formed, Elder J. G. Reeder being President, and Elder E. Williamson being Secretary-Treasurer. A semi-monthly paper, to be called *Gospel Herald*, was planned for, the noted Rev. Isaac N. Walter being designated as editor.¹

This Association became effective the next year, and issued the first number of its paper at New Carlisle, Ohio, in October, 1843, and from that time forward, at different towns, until that *Herald* also entered the capacious maw of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* in 1868. The Association continued under its charter until 1852, then becoming the Western Book Association, and

¹ See Ap., p. 381.

under that caption doing business until 1866, when the name was again changed to Christian Publishing Association. And this is how the four leading publishing concerns of the denomination North became one, and why that one still continues. Both The Christian Publishing Association and its periodical have evinced marvelous assimilative power.

Southern Christian Publishing Committee.—Brethren in the South had also been feeling keenly need of a mouthpiece to voice their interests. A general meeting assembled at Mount Auburn, Warren County, N. C., in the year 1830, which voted to publish a paper styled *Christian Intelligencer*, with Elijah Lewelling, Thomas Reeves, D. W. Kerr and J. P. Lemay as an editorial committee. But the question of means with which to publish stood in the way, and the paper did not materialize. Nine years afterward, the subject was taken up in the North Carolina and Virginia Conference, became an absorbing theme, and caused passage of a motion to establish the *Christian Sun*, auxiliary to the *Christian Palladium*, and twelve men were chosen to constitute the Southern Christian Publishing Committee to arrange for publishing the *Sun*. Rev. Daniel W. Kerr was elected editor,¹ who did the bulk of preparatory work, at length issuing the first copy of the paper from Junto, N. C., the printing being done at Hillsboro. This was a sixteen-page paper, at \$1.00 per year.

Southern Christian Association.—But the *Sun* had to be passed on. The year 1847 witnessed formation of the Southern Christian Association, at Pope's Chapel, N. C., embracing the whole southern work. Editor Kerr, representing his conference at that gathering, turned over to the new Association the *Christian Sun*, which then became the southern organ, while the Association became also a publishing organization. Nearly ten years later that Association became the Southern Christian

¹ See Ap., p. 381.

Convention, retaining control of its periodical and providing for other publishing interests.

In this period, 1819 to 1849, the publishing agencies were practically narrowed down to three. To follow all their windings is most confusing; and sufficient has been given above to enable readers to follow the general trend of denominational publishing organizations.

Since the printed page was so commonly used and figured so prominently in denominational growth, some account should be given of leading publications for the period under consideration. We cannot give in detail the history of any, and minor publications will find place in the Appendix.¹ Papers, magazines, pamphlets and books were never-failing means of propagating the cause of religious liberty. By turning to the graphic history of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, readers may easily see at a glance what became of many early publications. Authorship was common and a respectable body of theological, biographical and miscellaneous works has been preserved to the present.

RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS

Elias Smith began his journalistic career by publication of the *Christians' Magazine*, copies and bound volumes of which can be consulted in both public and private libraries. This was a thirty-six page magazine, well printed and bound, first issued in June, 1805, from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Then Smith started the first religious newspaper in the world, which has often been mentioned and quoted from in this history. Part of the time Smith did the mechanical work in his own office, part of the time he contracted for it. Then Smith changed denominational affiliations and his paper was sold to Robert Foster, who continued the publication as the *Christian Herald* until 1835. The paper was issued monthly, size five

¹ See Ap.

by eight inches, twenty-four pages.¹ The Eastern Christian Publishing Association purchased the *Christian Herald* of Foster, changed its name to *Christian Journal*, and issued it from Exeter, New Hampshire. Rev. Elijah Shaw was editor—an able man, occasionally brilliant—and under his editorial management the paper manifested old-time fire and vigor. Its support was better, its subscription list larger, and its columns filled with appeals for a more efficient ministry and more effective denominational life. Rev. Joshua V. Himes had established at Boston, in 1837, a paper called *The Christian*, which he sold to the Eastern Christian Publishing Association a year later, and it was consolidated with the *Christian Journal*, so giving the latter paper a clear field again. Early in 1839, the *Journal's* name was changed to *Christian Herald and Journal*, and changed again in 1841 to *Christian Herald*, so continuing until 1850.

The New York Western Conference, meeting at Lima in 1825, voted to undertake financial responsibility for the *Gospel Luminary*.² Rev. David Millard was elected editor, with an editorial committee to assist. In January, 1825, that paper was first issued, the mechanical work being done at Rochester, New York. There were twenty-two pages in each issue, size four and one-half by seven inches. Millard edited the paper three years. He was an able man and produced a helpful periodical which was duly appreciated. In 1829, it was moved to New York, a new series being begun, edited conjointly by David Millard and Simon Clough for four years. Clough was reckoned a scholarly man, an able preacher, and the joint editorial supervision increased the *Luminary's* value and influence. With Volume V of the new series this periodical was acquired by the Christian General Book Association, Simon

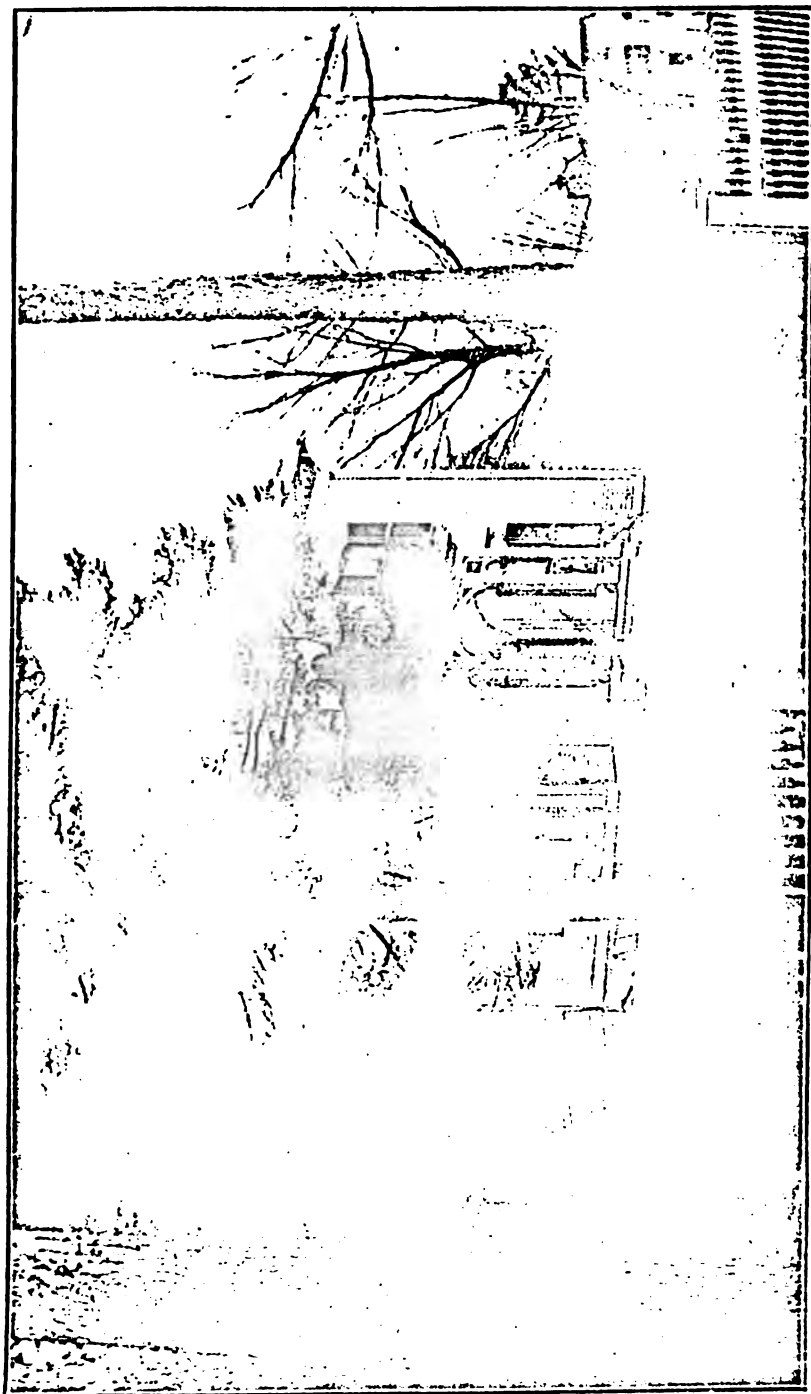
¹ Elias Smith published for about two years—1827 to 1828—in Boston, the *Morning Star and City Watchman*, which Mr. Foster later bought and consolidated with the *Herald*.
² The next year, with the New York Eastern Conference, it did assume the publication.

Clough being retained as editor until the paper was merged with the *Christian Palladium*.

When the Genessee Christian Association was organized, its first aim was to publish a periodical, the provisional name of which was *Gospel Palladium*, and that project actually materialized, May 1, 1832, when the first issue was published, Rev. Joseph Badger being editor. The paper had twenty-four pages, size four and one-half by seven inches, in that day a popular size. For two years the place of issue was West Mendon, then at Union Mills, a hamlet in the town of Broadalbin, until its removal to Albany several years later. In 1834 the size was changed to six by nine inches, sixteen pages, and during the publication at Albany the number of pages was doubled. Badger quit the editorship in 1839. He wielded a vigorous, talented pen, but unfortunately was involved in controversy with his brethren and found it wise to leave the editorial chair. An open feud existed between the *Christian Herald* and *Christian Palladium*. After 1834 the *Palladium* was owned by the Christian General Book Association.

Rev. Matthew Gardner launched *Christian Union* in 1841 at Ripley, Ohio, and published it for a year; but when the *Gospel Herald* became a fact, in October, 1843,¹ Gardner turned over his list to the new paper. The *Gospel Herald* was child of the Ohio Christian Book Association, and when first published, contained each issue sixteen pages, size six by nine and one-half inches, place of publication being New Carlisle, Ohio. Later the paper made its home in Springfield, Ohio, edited by Rev. Messrs. James Williamson and James W. Marvin. A succession of able men filled its editorship, giving the paper a wide influence. Its backing was substantial enough that publication continued until 1868, when it was merged with the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, organ of the East. In Canada also requisition was made upon printers' ink to forward the

¹ Walter, p. 259. Gardner, p. 92.



PREMISES OF L. K. QUIMBY, LYNDEN, VT.

Here originally stood a log house, familiarly called "The Door of the Town," because for years it served as a temporary abode for many new settlers entering the town. The log house was built about 1793, was used for both a residence and schoolhouse; and there Dr. Abner Jones lived and taught school, and undoubtedly organized there, in 1801, the first church of the Christian denomination in New England. The house at the right of the picture succeeded the log house, and was moved back to make room for Mr. Quimby's present residence. The hill in the rear has always been known as "Minister's Hill." See p. 93.

cause. The Ontario Conference at one time organized itself for publishing business, but was not able to fulfill its wish until 1845, when William Noble began the *Canadian Christian Luminary* at Oshawa, Ontario.¹ That light shone four years and then sank into the *Christian Palladium*. Thus far we have traced the course of publications most of which were ultimately combined with the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, the chief exception being the *Christian Sun*, published in the South. Another exception should here be noted. Barton W. Stone began publishing the *Christian Messenger* in Georgetown, Kentucky, in 1826, issuing it with some interruption until his death in November, 1844, after he had moved to Jacksonville, Illinois. This paper at first contained twenty-two pages, size four and one-half by seven inches. Stone was a scholarly and accomplished controversialist. His paper was very ably conducted and influential, although lacking the dash which Smith and Shaw put into the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* and Badger put into the *Christian Palladium*.

Completeness has not been aimed at in the foregoing recital, but sufficient has been said to show how forward early promoters of the Christian denomination were in religious journalism. Their record was one of which nobody need be ashamed.²

PAMPHLETEERING

Elias Smith was a voluminous pamphleteer, and quickly met every attack or challenge with a sermon which was printed and widely circulated. By this comparatively inexpensive method he flung quick answers to hosts of enemies hounding his tracks. Other men followed the same plan, and a considerable literature in ephemeral brochure and pamphlet form

¹ Thomas Henry is usually regarded as the party responsible for this publication.
² A complete history of both The Christian Publishing Association and the periodicals which have contributed to the present *Herald of Gospel Liberty* may be consulted in the "Centennial of Religious Journalism," pp. 451-479, and in the "Christian Annual" for 1909.

sprang into existence among the Christians. James O'Kelly in the South issued several works in that form, including his treatise on baptism. Tracts emanated from other pens briefly detailing the breach with the Methodists, or defending the Christians' position.¹ Stone and his co-religionists in Kentucky printed their "Apology" in a small booklet for quick and general circulation. In the South, North and West, in the first instance, pamphleteering was resorted to for apologetic purposes, and secondarily for general propagandism.

EARLY BOOKS

O'Kelly and Smith also led the way in authorship of books. A dozen titles are linked with the name of the former.² Probably his "Apology" was most famous. The bibliography published in "Modern Light Bearers" contains over forty titles of books, booklets, published sermons, and minor works, ranging in date from 1804 to 1837,³ composed by Smith. He regarded his "New Testament Dictionary" as his greatest work, and he spent much time on it to the detriment of his health. The volume of sermons on prophecy, which were struck off at white heat, afforded him great joy and mental exhilaration. His autobiography is a very readable book, letting readers right into the man's heart.

One of the most extensively circulated of early publications among the Christians was Rev. William Kinkade's "The Bible Doctrine," an original, forceful theological work, issued first in 1829, re-printed several times since. Rev. David Millard's

¹ Among others may be mentioned John West, Benjamin Rainey, Daniel Stringer, William Guirey, William Lanphier, Peter Culpepper, Rice Haggard, Jonathan Foster.—Chris. Sun, December 14, 1910. ² The Author's Apology for Protesting Against the Methodist Episcopal Government; Vindication of an Apology; Divine Oracles Consulted; Christicola; The Christian Church; Annotation on His Book of Discipline; Letters from Heaven Consulted; Tract on Baptism; A Tract on Slavery.—MacClenny, pp. 177-179. ³ The most noteworthy are: The Clergyman's Looking Glass; The Whole World Governed by a Jew; The Doctrine of the Prince of Peace and His Servants; The Age of Enquiry; Christian's Pocket Companion and Daily Assistant; Sermons Containing an Illustration of the Prophecies; The History of Anti-Christ; New Testament Dictionary; The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels and Sufferings of Elias Smith; The Medical Pocket Book; The American Physician and Family Assistant; the People's Book.—Modern Light Bearers, pp. 213-218.

"The True Messiah," dealing largely with Trinitarian doctrines, but expounding the author's idea of "the proper Son of God," passed through two editions, the first in 1823. Another early treatise against Trinitarianism was Rev. Charles Morgridge's "The True Believer's Defense," from the press in 1837. William Guirey, of Virginia, wrote a "History of Episcopacy," published before 1808, embodying an account of the rise of the Christians in the South. "Letters to a Universalist," by P. R. Russell, reached a third edition in 1848.¹

HYMNOLOGY

All Christian reformers have been quick to discern the value of song, and getting people to commit tenets couched in lyrics to memory. This field was cultivated among the Christians and with astonishing results. Early leaders compiled hymn books for public worship, and even wrote creditable hymns. Abner Jones, of phlegmatic temperament and scientific training, yet courted the muse. In collaboration with Elias Smith he published "Hymns, Original and Selected, for the Use of Christians," issuing the same at Portland, Me., in 1805. This book was later revised, and as "Smith and Jones' Hymn Book" had reached its seventh edition in 1816. It was a small pocket volume. Meantime Smith put out a small volume called "Songs of the Redeemed, for Followers of the Lord;" and subsequently compiled "A Collection of Hymns for the Use of Christians," which was published at Boston, and sold by Manning & Loring.

James O'Kelly's "Hymns and Spiritual Songs" was printed by the Minerva Press, at Raleigh, N. C., in 1816, and was a compilation of established merit. That eccentric evangelist and knight errant, Joseph Thomas, best known as the "White Pilgrim," gave the public a volume in 1815 entitled "The Pilgrim's Hymn Book." At the earnest solicitation of friends,

¹ See Ap., p. 382.

Rev. Mills Barrett, of Virginia, gathered two hundred and twenty-two hymns which he published in 1828 at Norfolk, with the title, "Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Selected for the Use of Christians, by Mills Barrett."

David Millard, of New York, preacher, author, traveler, theological professor, was highly regarded as a composer of lyrics. In 1830 "The Millard and Badger Hymn Book" was published by the compilers. It was much used in New York state, and contained a number of Millard's original compositions. Matthew Gardner, of Ohio, published a hymn book which reached its eighth edition.¹

These are a few noteworthy productions among many which might be mentioned. Like modern gospel songs, the books and hymns they contained had their vogue and then fell into disuse. Here is no place for a bibliography, but to point out this fact, namely, that the fathers of the Christian Church were not a whit behind others in using printer's ink to forward their cause.

¹ The author of this history has copies of several of the earlier hymn books; the matter pertaining to others has been casually found during search for data for this work. Not mentioned above were the hymn books issued by Frederick Plummer, Jasper Hazen and John Rand, John McKenzie, and Robert Foster. "The Christian Psalmist" was being sold by the *Christian Herald* in 1849. See also Ap., p. 382.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER VI

Christian Herald, Vols. I-XVI. 1818-1835.

Gospel Luminary, Vols. I-III, and new series, Vols. I-VI. 1825-1833.

Christian Palladium, Vols. I-XIX. 1832-1851.

Modern Light Bearers, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D., before cited.

Centennial of Religious Journalism, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D., before cited.

Christian Sun, edited by J. O. Atkinson, D. D., December 14, 1910.

Life of Rev. James O'Kelly, by W. E. MacClenny, Ph. B., before cited.

A very full history of the Publishing Interests will be found in the Christian Annual for 1909.

Memoir of Elijah Shaw, by his daughter. L. J. Shaw, Boston, 1852.

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER VII

REVIVAL IN SECONDARY EDUCATION—EARLY SCHOOLS— SUNDAY-SCHOOLS

1826-1849

POSTERITY always finds satisfaction in looking back and thinking how rude and half-baked the fathers were, and how inferior their advantages. The substance of this chapter is likely to excite such comparison. However that may be, one fact has almost escaped observation, namely, that an educational revival preceded a fully developed denominational consciousness. The revival was of secondary or academic education.

Misapprehension has arisen about the early leaders' attitude toward education. There never was among the Christians hostility toward education itself. The ministers, who were leaders and moulders of sentiment, being endowed with much natural ability, educated as much or more than the people among whom they moved, thrust into positions where native genius had free play and abundant stimulus, gave good account of themselves and thorough proof of their ministry. They were peers of any ministry in the country in all respects except theological training. They were educated, and believed in education.

But, like the founders of this movement, they were in open revolt against the prevalent theological training. When education became handmaid of priestcraft and ecclesiastical oppression and a clerical guild, they opposed it strenuously. The very genius of their movement and key to its success was using a ministry not *professionally* trained. They heartily believed that God could summon men from common callings

and by His grace equip them for ministry, an itinerant ministry, an evangelistic mission which they deemed apostolic or like it. And hundreds of ministers plunged among the masses around them, with surprising results. The idea of a ministry not professionally trained, not fed and fattened upon dogmatic, schismatic, sectarian theology, was amply vindicated. From every community and section where those men labored came reports of revivals and reformations, churches organized, and conferences formed.

Who would expect people who revolted against ecclesiastical oppression to countenance schools under sectarian auspices, where every student acquired a sectarian shibboleth? But when common education advanced, and ministers with liberal culture were demanded for city congregations and positions where scholarship counted, the fathers realized that their youth, and especially those designated for the ministry, could receive training according to liberal Christian principles espoused by the denomination, and yet training on a par with that of sectarian schools.

That such education had been neglected among the Christians was freely charged by their leading men. The point of progress reached persistently thrust the educational subject into their faces. With erection of organizations and institutions arose the educational need, and not before. And, naturally, their first thought was for training of high school and academic grades. The subject became a general theme of discussion in all parts of the country, resulting in plans for many high schools, industrial schools and academies. A few plans were realized, and with them we have to do in this chapter.

Barton W. Stone, a man of scholarly attainments, as we have seen, for years engaged in educational work, even after embarking in the Christian ministry. About 1811 he was principal of a high school in Lexington, Ky., which secured a

larger patronage than Transylvania University.¹ Some months later he became master of Rittenhouse Academy, Georgetown, Ky., attracting some pupils from Lexington. His academy was probably patronized both for its religious character and its high grade of work. Later Stone conducted a successful private school in Georgetown.²

A man of considerable scholarly attainments, Rev. Daniel W. Kerr, lived and labored in North Carolina, adding great strength to the cause in that section. He was a linguist and Biblical scholar, and withal was gifted with large executive ability. In 1826 Wake Forest-Pleasant Grove Academy, a few miles north of Raleigh, was established, with Kerr as principal. It had a long up-hill struggle; but lack of equipment and scanty fare were more than offset by Kerr's presence and instruction. About 1838 Junto Academy, in a North Carolina town called Junto, on Elder Kerr's farm, was incorporated, with himself as principal. Here too were primitive conditions—three log houses, two dormitories and a recitation building. Most interesting traditions are extant touching the founding of this academy and erection of buildings, involving privations and providential experiences. Fire destroyed one building; and sectarian advocates stooped to slander and cripple Kerr's school, which he advertised as an unsectarian Christian school. In three or four years fifty students were in attendance. Junto Academy became Mt. Zion Academy for young men, and was removed to Pittsboro, N. C., about 1849. Elder Kerr was stricken with apoplexy and died in 1850, and the school did not survive his death.³

At the North, in 1834, Elder Z. Toby projected a Christian Academy at Portsmouth, R. I., to which Rev. Ellery Channing, D. D., the famous Unitarian divine, gave fifty dollars. In August, of that year, a convention in New England, held for the purpose, appointed a board of visitors for Mr. Toby's

¹ Stone, p. 69.
Sun, January 25, 1911.

² Ibid., p. 70.

³ Chris. Pall., Vol. IV, p. 343. Chris.

school, charged with the duty of investigating the feasibility of manual training. The school was actually started in September. Next year conference voted to raise ten thousand dollars for an academy building, and seven thousand for a "boarding house."¹ The same year Rev. Joshua V. Himes issued a proposal for a Manual Labor School in New England, laying his plans before the Massachusetts Christian Conference, Massachusetts Christian Benevolent Society, and other bodies. An effort to combine manual training with Toby's school set Himes' proposal back for a time; but finally the New England Manual Labor School was located at Lynn, Mass., and J. V. Himes, P. R. Russell, S. D. Robbin, W. Andrew, and S. Brown were selected as a committee to raise ten thousand dollars for it. Later this school, then named New England Christian Academy, was located at Beverly, Mass., and opened for instruction in June, 1836, with John B. Wright as principal. The manual labor consisted of farming and shoemaking. This school gradually declined for lack of proper support, and both this and Toby's school soon went out of existence.²

In New York state the Christians did not open the earliest schools, but patronized others that they could approve. For example, about 1834 Charles Brown and associates opened a school in Denmark, Lewis County, which members of the Christian denomination were urged to patronize. A year later a Mr. Whitaker was conducting a school in Henrietta, Monroe County, which was patronized by the Christians.³

But in 1835 buildings were erected at Union Mills, N. Y., and under the principalship of J. B. Gleason an academy was opened for instruction, designed chiefly for young ladies, and had accommodations for about seventy-five. This school was not entirely satisfactory, for in 1839 the people of Union Mills

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. III, pp. 54, 161, 329. About 1836 Elder Toby joined the Baptist Church, and his school ceased to be regarded as a denominational school of the Christians.

² Ibid., Vol., III, p. 105 and Vol. V, pp. 63, 184.

³ Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 59, 120.

organized a Female Seminary, opened in December of that year under the direction of Miss May A. Andruss.¹

A project promising rather more permanence was fathered by the New York Central Christian Conference, and known as Honeyoye Falls Select School, under a Mr. Polk, of Vermont, which began in 1839, with eighty pupils. But like other similar projects, it did not have sufficient financial backing.²

Prior to 1840 there had been agitation for a school in New Hampshire and a committee of the New Hampshire Conference had been appointed to consider the question. They reported in 1840 two thousand dollars secured and an academy located at Upper Gilmanton, now Belmont. Conference, however, decided to locate at Durham (which place has since become the seat of New Hampshire Agricultural College), a favorable location for an educational institution. The Conference also appointed a committee to establish the academy and set it in operation, with Rev. O. B. Cheney, later president of Bates College, as principal. The Durham school was established and existed for a dozen years or more, but gradually declined and quit.³ Elder Wm. Demeritt, of Durham, did more for it than any other individual.

In the year 1840 the New York Central Conference made another venture and with better success. It founded a school at Eddytown, now called Lakemont, in the town of Starkey, on Seneca Lake, called "The Seminary of the New York Central Christian Conference." A committee was elected to present plans and solicit funds. Next year more than seven thousand dollars had been subscribed, and the building committee called for bids. In 1841 a more definite name, "Starkey Seminary," was adopted, called after the town above mentioned, where Rev. Ezra Marvin, a leader in the enterprise, was pastor. Marvin was a very energetic young man, and through him money was raised to purchase land for a building site. Starkey Seminary

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. IV, p. 47, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

² Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 87, 88.

³ Ibid., Vol. VIII, p.

was opened in November, 1842, Rev. Charles Morgridge being principal. From that time to the present this Seminary has endured, having a long and honorable career. At some periods it has declined, at others thriven. Prof. Edmund Chadwick, a Bowdoin man, an educator of large ability and training, became principal in 1847. Under him the school was chartered, equipped with library and apparatus, and shared in state educational funds. During his management a large patronage was secured and a large corps of assistants maintained. His leadership terminated in 1861.¹

In the South a private school was established by Rev. John R. Holt about 1837, which he conducted in Alamance County, North Carolina, until 1840, when he moved to the vicinity of Graham, now a thriving city and county seat. After an interregnum of three years he re-opened his school in 1845, and three years later moved into Graham. Graham Institute was largely the creation of Holt, and was the first strictly church school of the denomination in the South. In a subsequent chapter the outgrowth of this institution will be traced. In 1849 the question of establishing an educational institution at Graham came before the North Carolina and Virginia Conference, being referred to a committee of six, of which Holt was chairman. The committee recommended and Conference proceeded to establish such an institution. A building was already under construction at Graham in the year 1850.²

An institution of more pretentious character was projected at Lafayette, Ind., in 1842, known as Lafayette University. Trustees were elected for the corporation, and in 1843 active solicitation for funds began. A year later building material was ordered with a view to building operations in the spring of 1845. However, this enterprise encountered financial and unforeseen difficulties, and never yielded results to the Indiana

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. IX, pp. 89, 198, 316.

² Chris. Sun, January 25, 1911.

brotherhood who planned the school. Lafayette is now the home of Purdue University.¹

The schools mentioned in the foregoing, which really opened for business, made creditable showing, several of them being headed by men of first-rate repute. None failed on the score of scholarship or educational standards. But in general those schools were hurriedly launched; they commanded a local patronage only; they were not properly financed and endowed. In some cases it must be confessed, moral backing was not afforded by a supposedly interested constituency, and disaster followed.

In the literature of this period we find mention of proposed academies in Ohio and other states; but definite information is lacking. Enough has been adduced to show how general was the awakening for secondary and liberal educational institutions. The sequel will be detailed in another chapter.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS

Less data are available concerning the introduction of Sunday-schools into the Christian denomination than concerning other departments of the work. That general skepticism blocked the early Sunday-school is generally recognized. Boys and girls privileged to enjoy the delightful modern church school, held in specially constructed and equipped school rooms, with attractive literature and appliances, can hardly imagine what the first schools were like. In organization they were not so dissimilar; but in conducting class work and other respects there was wide difference. Boys and girls in those days committed to memory, week by week, passages and chapters of the Bible until whole books were memorized. Class work consisted of reciting what had been learned, with a modicum of exposition. Lesson leaflets and cards were not their never-failing reliances. A catechism was in frequent use¹, and a select means for imparting doctrine according to

¹ Gos. Her., Vol. I, pp. 25, 296. Vol. II, pp. 41, 232.

denominational bias. Congregational singing was cultivated, and concert exercises were common. But considerable of the brightness and attractiveness of modern schools was absent, notwithstanding sessions were then enjoyable and profitable.

The science of pedagogy had not been developed and taught to teachers then; neither had child-study become common. Good teachers were in every school, although their well-intentioned efforts were not always wise or profitable. The era of teacher-training dates but a few years back. And after all has been said, that stalwart Christians were reared in early Sunday-schools must be freely admitted; and the storing in memory of choice Scripture was an excellent idea.

The Sunday-school in America dates back as far as 1683. The Sunday-school Association of the State of Ohio instituted investigation to discover the facts, and the following statement will doubtless be a revelation to some of the readers of this history:

"The town records of Newton, Long Island, show that Rev. Morgan Jones established a Sunday-school there February 28, 1683—fifty-two years before Robert Raikes was born. But it is not certain that even this was the first Sunday-school in America. A writer in the *Historical Magazine* says that in 1674 the Puritans had a Sunday-school in Roxbury, Mass. There seems, however, to be no authority for this beyond the mere statement; but the town records of Newton, Long Island, are copied in full in "Thompson's History," a very rare book at this day, so there can be no doubt as to the date of the establishment of Morgan Jones' Sunday-school."²

A school was organized at Marietta, Ohio, in 1791, and one hundred years later the Ohio Sunday School Association met there to celebrate the anniversary. In Philadelphia and Boston schools were established also in 1791.³ But as an institution the Sunday-school found but scant favor and spread

¹ See Ap., p. 383.
See Ap. for further information.

² Records of the Ohio State S. S. Assn., 1887 and 1891.

³ McMaster, Vol. II, p. 84.

but slowly. By Christian ministers it was at first denounced as a device for propagating sectarianism. More than a quarter century elapsed before Christian churches allowed prejudice to vanish, and recognized the potency of Sunday-schools for good.

When and where the first schools among the Christians were established is unknown. From a note in the *Christian Herald* it seems almost certain that the Christian church in Portsmouth, N. H., had a Sunday-school.¹ In early summer 1826, a Sunday-school was organized in the Christian church of Kittery, Me., a historic town just across the harbor from Portsmouth. Kittery was then the home and pastorate of the eccentric and terribly-in-earnest Elder Mark Fernald. Judging by references in his autobiography, the school grew rapidly.² There exists a constitution of the North Sabbath School Society connected with the First Christian Society of New Bedford, Mass., adopted in 1832. In a prefatory remark the Executive Board states that that school had been running since 1827, and the new regime was merely to improve it. Within a few months its enrollment more than doubled and was two hundred and eighty-five. A good library and regular classes in singing were reported. Doubtless other schools were instituted in sister churches. We are almost sure that Boston Christian churches had schools earlier than any of the foregoing. Haverhill, Mass., 1829, Woodstock, Vt., 1830, New York City, 1834, Hixville, Mass., 1835, Lynn, Mass., 1837, Long Plain, Mass., 1837, Smith's Mills, Mass., 1837, are places and dates of early organizations. Providence, R. I., had a school before 1838.³ Newburyport, Mass., church was formed in 1840, and must have had a school about the same time. The Christians reported forty schools in New England in 1848. Naturally, since the movement started in Atlantic coast cities, it worked slowly westward and southward. Testimony is strikingly similar

¹ Chris. Her., Vol. I, p. 70. Schools in other towns are mentioned.
² Fernald, pp. 190, 225. ³ Experience and Personal Recollections of Elder Samuel Wilde, p. 15. This man was the first of whom we have record, in the denomination, who set himself "to organize and promote Sabbath schools." P. 16.

from all sections, however, to the effect that the Christians were very backward in adopting the Sunday-school.

A correspondent of the *Christian Palladium* in 1835 remarked that the Sunday-school institution had been generally denounced in former days by ministers of the Christian denomination, but was then being encouraged by them.¹ A dozen years later a writer in the *Gospel Herald* said that Sunday-schools were few in the West. He urged their multiplication, remarking: "It cannot be sectarian to teach children to read the Scriptures."² Of similar import was testimony from the South, where repeatedly churches were urged to adopt Sabbath schools.

To the Christians a catechetical method of inculcating sectarian doctrine was especially obnoxious; but in process of time a modified catechetical idea was worked out and used in Christian Sunday-schools. In 1844 Rev. Philemon R. Russell issued "Scriptural Manual, or Questions on Select Portions of the Four Evangelists: Containing the History of the Life of Christ," Vol. I; and "Scriptural Manual, or Questions on the Acts of the Apostles; being a Connected History of their Travels and Preaching," Vol. II. These were small pocket volumes of one hundred eight pages. The same year he issued a smaller, distinctly catechetical book, called, "The Primary Scriptural Manual, designed to Illustrate the Character of God and the Nature of His Moral Government, as administered by His Son Jesus Christ," containing about sixty pages. These books were used in the East. Years later, namely, in 1856 and 1862, the New England Christian Sunday School Association published two small books entitled respectively, "Lessons of Love. First Question Book for Little Children in the School of Christ," and "Jesus, the Messiah. A Historical Question Book." All these manuals were a step in advance of mere memorizing of Scripture. Subsequent to

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. V, p. 312.

² Gos. Her., Vol. IV, p. 202.

the Civil War Rev. C. A. Apple published a Manual for Sunday-school use in the South. But within a year or two the International Lesson System came into use and supplanted these catechisms and manuals.

As yet the Christians had no quarterlies or papers for Sunday-school use. Their history belongs to a later period. And how the Sunday-school idea grew and what place it came to occupy in the American Christian Convention will also be subjects for later treatment.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER VII

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Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger, by E. G. Holland.
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History of the Christian Church, by N. Summerbell, D. D.
For full data about these works consult previous list of sources.

CHAPTER VIII

CHAPTER VIII

CONTINUED GROWTH—PRINCIPLES AND POLITY

1833-1849

ON THE eve of an epoch-making Convention at Marion, N. Y., in 1850, we will pause to survey the field and note growth made since 1832. Two avenues of information are available—first, observing where conferences were organized during this period, which would locate new planting and church increase; second, published statistics preserved.

In the span of eight years from 1832 to 1840, conferences were organized or re-organized as follows: Philadelphia, embracing a group of churches around the "Quaker city" with nearly six hundred members in 1842; Central Pennsylvania; Southern Illinois and the Wabash country; the group of churches in and around Boston, Mass.; a crop of churches of recent planting in Michigan; eastern Maine; western New Jersey; the Spoon River country, in Illinois; central Indiana; Valley of Virginia, northwestern Ohio, in the Auglaize River country; eastern and western Ontario both organized; eastern Ohio; the Bluffton district of eastern Indiana; Union Conference in Ohio, making six organized bodies within the state except that most of Erie Conference lies outside; in all not less than seventeen conferences in eight years.

During the next decade records tell of even more conference bodies formed: in the now beautiful, but then new country of eastern Michigan, with a group of twenty-three churches; in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois; western side of the Green Mountains in Vermont; and eastern side of the same; western Michigan; east central Ohio, in the Mt. Vernon district; Huron, in northeastern Ohio; Western Reserve in north-

ern Ohio; La Porte district of Indiana; York and Cumberland Counties in Maine; amalgamation of Prairie Creek and Cole Creek Conferences in western Indiana; Tippecanoe Conference in northwestern Indiana; Eel River in northeastern Indiana; Tioga River country of southern New York and northern Pennsylvania; the scattered churches in Iowa, chiefly the southern part; the Black River country of northern New York; south central Pennsylvania, an offshoot of the Valley of Virginia; Indiana Union; southeastern Michigan; the northern part of Wisconsin, only a year after the first church in that section was planted at Lomira (Mound Prairie); central Virginia; and the more inclusive bodies, the New England Christian Convention, and Southern Christian Association. Here were twenty-one new conferences, and their organization speaks plainly of the opening of the great West.¹

Statistics of 1849² listed about eight hundred seventy-five churches, and nine hundred twenty-six ministers in forty-five conferences. Reports were inaccurate, in many cases entirely wanting, and the total membership was stated at thirty thousand church members—a figure that must be too low, judging by the number of churches. Perhaps fifty thousand, or a little more, would be nearly right. All sorts of wild estimates were published. In nothing is looseness of organization more apparent than in the scrappy statistics that have come down to the present.

Mention should be made of the numerical loss to the Christians through the Adventists, during this period. William Miller, a farmer of Massachusetts, and a converted deist, member of a Baptist church in Low Hampton, N. Y., began his famous Bible studies in 1818, and entered the ministry in 1831, from which time he actively propagated his views concerning the second coming of Christ. Thinking that he had discovered the key to prophecy, he fixed upon the year 1843

¹ See Ap., p. 383.

² See Chrs. Reg. for 1849.

as the year of the second advent,¹ and then more specifically upon October 22, 1844, as the date. Miller's followers increased with remarkable rapidity throughout New England, and in eastern New York, in parts of Pennsylvania, and in New Jersey, and other parts of the country. When Miller died, in 1849, the Adventists were estimated to be 50,000 strong. They are a considerable religious body to-day, but much divided among themselves about doctrinal matters.

A perusal of the denominational literature shows that the Christians felt the Millerite *furor* in the sections of the country mentioned. Some of the leading ministers, and the editors of the periodicals, exposed the fallacy of Miller's reasoning; but they did not succeed in heading off a considerable stampede among their brethren. Most denominations closed their church buildings against the Millerites; but mindful of their own experience, the Christians opened their churches to advocates of the second advent doctrine. In an incredibly short time many ministers among the Christians were swept off their feet by Miller's views concerning prophecy, and began to preach his and their own vagaries. During the forties this propaganda continued unabated, with the result that the Christians lost a good many ministers, who, in their getting "out of Babylon," took church after church with them. Perhaps the Vermont conferences met with the greatest loss.² Early conference records preserve the names of about one hundred churches and nearly as many ministers, a considerable per cent. of them known to have embraced Adventism. Even churches that remained were partially depleted, larger memberships reporting losses of fifty to one hundred members in a single year through the Adventists. In New Hampshire and Maine quite similar conditions obtained.

When the failure of Miller's predictions had sobered them,

¹ Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the year 1843, by William Miller. Published by Moses A. Dow, Boston, Mass., 1841.

² See Minutes of Vermont Conferences, subsequent to 1843.

a part of the defecting members returned to their former church relationships, but a large per cent. did not, and many never afterward held church relationships. What other denominations lost through the Adventists we are not able to say; but the Christians probably lost several thousand communicants. It is likely that the branch of Adventists known as "Advent Christians" owes much to the Christian denomination.

PRINCIPLES AND POLITY

Before 1850 the principles, doctrinal and theological tenets, and general polity of the Christian Church had become clearly defined; and as they have suffered little change since, here may be a good place to indicate in some detail what the Christian movement stood for then and still stands for. The task is difficult, if one writes in view of readers entirely unacquainted with the Christians. It should be premised also that no *official* statement representing the whole denomination has ever been formulated or published, and what is here written is an historian's interpretation, not a theologian's. Dr. Austin Craig's address before the New Jersey Christian Conference, then in session at Camptown, now Irvington, N. J., in 1850, has become a classic in the Christians' literature, and expounds the theologian's view of their position in a masterly way.¹ But neither that address nor the following statement have any weight except as interpretations.

Before 1850 a wide departure had been made, in one respect, from the usage of the earliest leaders. They decried "speculative" theology. Elias Smith made part of his great fight against doctrinal tenets framed under tutelage of philosophy, especially of metaphysics. His cry was, in effect, "Back to the Scriptures!" And even when he flirted with the Universalist brethren, he still held fast to the Bible, and

¹ Life and Letters of Austin Craig, by W. S. Harwood, Chapter VI.

squared his Universalism by *his* understanding of Sacred Writ. When the now famous "union" between followers of B. W. Stone and Alexander Campbell was consummated in Kentucky, it was with the distinct proviso that "speculative" teaching and preaching should be eschewed, that plain Scriptural doctrines and practical Christian ethics should be proclaimed and inculcated. William Kinkade's "The Bible Doctrine" was an effort to lay open to common apprehension Biblical doctrines, pulling the whole subject of Christian theology down from the clouds of mysticism and metaphysics.

But before those men passed from earth, a change had already come over the denomination's ministry, which had whetted the simitar of controversy and essayed Titanic stunts in theological hair-splitting. A period of "theologising" had supervened, the effect of which was, in part, to checkmate sectarian flings at the Christians, and in part to make the Christians more like the sects. Perhaps this change was inevitable, that the Christians' position might be fully developed and defended.

Publications of the period abound with theological essays, some evidently the work of tyros, others products of experienced writers. Discussions were common, whether in public print or in book form; and a favorite manner of settling(?) controverted points was by public debate with members of older denominations who adhered to traditional positions. Some of those debates were advertised long beforehand, lasted several days, were stenographically reported, and attracted crowds of followers of both debaters, and often members of the audience were overheard afterward discussing the questions in true lyceum style. Probably the most popular subject was the old metaphysical dogma of the Trinity, which ministers among the Christians were likely to be found denying, although they strenuously upheld the Biblical teaching concerning that doctrine.

Typical of other debates may be mentioned that between Rev. Frederick Plummer, pastor of the Christian Church in Philadelphia, and Rev. William L. McCalla, pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Ridley, Pa. Mr. Plummer had previously participated in similar affairs, once with a Presbyterian clergyman, and Mr. McCalla boasted of three such contests, one with Alexander Campbell, in Kentucky. This Plummer-McCalla debate was held January 18 to 21, 1842, at Ridley. Two days were consumed in arranging preliminaries, during which time each man rid himself of considerable "bad blood," and both were in such temper, it would seem, that no contest should have been attempted. As finally decided upon the subject was: "Is there a plurality of persons in the divine essence?" Both men presented arguments embodying considerable citation of authorities, Scriptural and otherwise, and were unsparing of each other. Kinkade's "The Bible Doctrine," mentioned elsewhere, gave Mr. McCalla most of his points against the Christians;¹ whereas, Mr. Plummer simply denied that Kinkade represented anybody but himself.²

Another famous debate, not strictly belonging to this period of history, may as well be spoken of here, and then the subject dismissed. At Centerville, Clinton County, Ohio, August 2 to 9, 1854, Rev. Nicholas Summerbell, then pastor of the Christian Church in Cincinnati, and Rev. J. M. Flood, Ex-President of the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, held a discussion on the Trinity which was stenographically reported by Benn Pittman, and later published in book form. One sometimes hears that occasion mentioned to-day by the "old-timers" among the Christians.³

The Bible, consisting of the Old and New Testament

¹ A Public Discussion on the Doctrine of the Trinity, between Elder Frederick Plummer, Christian, and Rev. Wm. L. McCalla, Presbyterian. Published for the Christian General Book Association, Philadelphia, Pa., 1851. See p. 128.

² Ibid., passim. ³ Discussions on the Trinity, between N. Summerbell, Pastor First Christian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Rev. J. M. Flood, Ex-President of the Ohio Conference of the M. P. Church. Reported by Benn Pittman. Cincinnati, Ohio, Applegate, Pounsford & Co., 1869.

Scriptures is the only written or printed document to whose authority the whole Christian denomination submissively bows and adheres. Should one inquire about belief, creed, discipline, constitution, polity, the answer would be: The Bible is our only statement of doctrine, our only creed, our only book of discipline, our only constitution and polity. This is universally accepted among us. And then should one object that not all men understand or practice the Bible alike, the answer would be: True; and it is a settled principle with us that every man should have freedom to interpret the Scriptures according to his own understanding. Only so can men maintain their own intellectual integrity and an inviolate conscience toward God.

District and local conferences, churches and individuals, have enunciated and adopted explanatory statements of various kinds, prescribed modes of work, and associated themselves according to their predilection. But none of those explanatory statements or formularies have any binding power regarding beliefs, doctrines, Scriptural interpretation or matters of conscience. They are framed in view of the above principle, and govern merely the temporal affairs of the church. The only document of binding authority is the Bible. Nor was this position reached by vote or formal action, but by unquestioned common consent and acquiescence. In every case it has been the foundation upon which everything else has rested.

In view of the principle just stated we may now proceed to explain more fully the "principles and polity." Early positive statements of denominational position have been reproduced at the close of Chapter III and in the Appendix. Advance upon those statements is apparent in a preamble adopted by the New Jersey Conference in 1832, substantially as follows: The Scriptures are the all-sufficient and only rule of faith and practice; eligibility for church membership should be based on Christian life; the right of private judgment is every man's prerogative; church discipline should be according

to gospel teaching; Christ is the only head of the church and source of authority.¹ In the *Christian Herald*² for 1827 five points were enumerated including, No name but Christian, and each church to be independent and autonomous. Commonly the Christians speak of the above points as their "principles." The philosophy underlying them is as follows:

1. The Christians have always fought clear of ecclesiastical hierarchy and bossism; and individuals, laymen or ministers, churches and conferences, have maintained complete independence and autonomy, except for voluntary association for counsel and spiritual profit. Popes, cardinals, bishops, and general conferences with legislative power seemed to the Christians incompatible with Christian teaching. They freely acknowledge that close organization would produce a stronger denomination; but freedom is more highly prized than great and powerful organizations. They proclaim simply that one is their Master, and they are all brethren without artificial gradation or ecclesiastical distinction. The chief abuses opposed by this principle are assumption by any authority, whether individual or collective, to dictate what men shall believe; and assumption of authority to coerce men to uniformity of belief or action. Heresy trials are impossible among the Christians. What Christ commands, that is law irrevocable. He is final authority for the church.

2. As to the Scriptures, preliminary statements above are perhaps clear enough. The Christians speak of "the all-sufficiency of Scripture," by which expression they recognize the Bible as God's word, a complete guide for Christians' faith and living, and for all religious purposes. Their views about inspiration, authority, composition and inerrancy have differed little from those of other denominations; and the people differ as little among themselves, on those points, as do members of other denominations. Recognizing that much argument on those debated subjects runs off into philosophy, they usually

¹ Gos. Lum., Vol. V, p. 319.

² Chris. Her., Vol. X, pp. 64, 65.

confine themselves to more practical subjects. In stating doctrines they prefer the identical words and expressions of Scripture, back to which all men go for starting point.

3. Conceiving that arbitrary and enforced interpretation of Scripture would abridge Christian liberty, the Christians have always admitted the great outstanding facts and truths of Scripture, while insisting that Holy Writ itself should be subject to honest and intelligent individual exegesis and application. The right of private judgment obtains in all matters of opinion. Neither mental dishonesty, moral obliquity, nor hampering of conscience must result from forcing assent to other men's interpretations or opinions. All men must have the right to proclaim and defend their conscientious judgment and opinions. Their conclusions may be wrong, and their motives right, but granted an honest purpose and an effort to know the truth, the cause of righteousness can best be advanced by allowing men liberty of expression.

4. From the foregoing "principles" comes another, strictly adhered to by the Christians, namely, the only proper test for church fellowship is Christian character. All creeds must be abandoned except as expressions of individual or of collective belief. They are not proper tests for church membership. When men stand before their peers, solemnly declaring full assent to numerous "articles of faith," they may rivet for themselves fetters of galling character. Men have done so again and again. The practice of "mental reservation" affords no escape for a man desirous of doing perfectly right. Again, whether men should say yes to questions concerning profound subjects to which they have given no thought and about which they have never received intelligent teaching, is a delicate point in Christian ethics. Men have committed themselves to doctrines and opinions utterly at variance with practical sense and Christian living. Hence the Christians insist that exhibition of Christian character and faith shall make men eligible for church membership irrespective of creedal tests.

All denominations admit that Christian character is vital. Creeds have been made instruments of tyranny and as such are never compatible with religious liberty.

5. Why should these people uniformly insist upon the name "Christian Church" or simply the term "Christians?" Two reasons may be adduced. First, the leaders in the movement maintained that "Christian" was a divinely given name, bestowed upon Christ's followers at Antioch in Asia. They stressed the word "divinely." Their argument was founded on the Greek word for "called" and was convincing to them. In this interpretation they have been followed ever since by most of the denomination. A second weighty reason was that "Christians" may be worn by all followers of Christ and tend to unity and peace; whereas, other sectarian designation is divisive and a breeder of strife. When men insist upon calling themselves Baptists, or Presbyterians, or Congregationalists, they maintain fences and division lines, and hence, loving peace and preaching unity, the Christians threw away all designations that might foster division and separation between Christ's followers, and were content to wear the simple name "Christians." People who accuse them of arrogating somewhat of proprietorship in the name accuse them falsely. These two are simple lines of argument for wearing the one name which all Christians do wear first before they adopt a sectarian appellation.

6. Especially in the West and South the "union" idea has been prominent since the days of O'Kelly and Stone. Mention has been made of Stone's plan for union with Campbell's followers. From that day forward individual Christians and Christian churches have blazoned upon their banner a union principle by which they have usually meant, not amalgamation of denominations, or merging of churches, but cultivating that spirit of unity couched so beautifully in Christ's prayer for His disciples. Let differences sink out of sight, let all Christians co-operate, let one great purpose animate all, and then

all will act like one denomination. In other words, they will flow together like drops of water. However, some parties in the denomination have interpreted "union" to mean elimination of denominations by organic union forming larger bodies. This latter interpretation has been responsible for considerable flirtation with certain sects, and for occasional actual elopements.

These six points cover what the Christians denominate their "principles." But some ground is not yet cleared; for example, church discipline is administered as nearly as possible according to New Testament teachings, chiefly the words of Christ.

Neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper is regarded as a sacrament, in the sense that ritualistic churches speak of sacraments. Baptism is a simple rite signifying that a believer means to live a Christian life, and has given allegiance to Jesus Christ as his Lord and Master. It is administered to the candidate according to his preference—sprinkling, pouring, immersion. The Ontario contingent almost always immerse, and that is the prevalent mode in New England and Kentucky. But no form is insisted upon. Quakers or Friends are received into Christian churches without baptism at all. This rite is not made the door to church membership; that is to say, people may be received upon confession of faith, without having been baptized. Baptismal services are conducted as simply as possible, and usually in Scriptural language.

The Lord's Supper, to the Christians, is a memorial service, according to the import of the Lord's own words. Close communion is nowhere practiced; but all who love Christ and are trying to serve Him are invited to share in the bread and wine, irrespective of creed, baptism, or denominational fellowship. The service itself is usually conducted in the very words of Christ uttered when the supper was instituted.

Organization of Christian churches is usually very simple. Sometimes the people covenant with one another according to

some written form, then a constitution and by-laws are adopted, governing business meetings and general conduct of church affairs. The covenant specifies that the people associated find fellowship according to some or all of the principles just explained. In other cases a written covenant, constitution and by-laws are not used, but association is still on such basis as has been explained above. In early days people wedded to sectarian views saw a lack of coherence, blasphemous heterodoxy and other terrible things rife among the Christians, prophesied dire fate for them and discouraged the Christians by social ostracism. More than a century of continuous existence, growth and development have proved religious liberty, as embodied in the Christian denomination, tenable ground for followers of Christ. Their principles suffice to hold people together, and, best of all, promote harmony.

Christians frankly avow the undesirability of uniform belief and procedure and have experienced the weakness consequent upon exaggerated independence. They have paid a large price for their liberty. Readers will still press for categorical answers about Scriptural doctrines and theological dogmas. They will be answered perhaps that Scriptural doctrine should be carefully differentiated from theological doctrine; that Biblical language should be discriminated from philosophical formulae. If one were to ask, What do you believe relative to the humiliation of Christ? he might receive in reply simply the quotation of a Scripture text. To elucidate this matter still further, suppose a minister of the Christians were asked to declare his views relative to the Trinity. He might answer in one of four ways. He might say, I know nothing about the Trinity; such a word does not appear in my Bible, but is a human invention. Or he might say, I neither affirm nor deny that upon which Scripture does not speak. Or he might say again, I believe in the Biblical Trinity but not in the theological. Or yet again, he might declare assent to the doctrine as commonly understood and might become a contro-

versalist, handling metaphysical "essence" or "substance" or "three-in-one" speculative ideas incapable of conclusive proof, but capable of endless argument. If asked, Are you a Trinitarian? or, Are you a Unitarian? the man might reply, "Then I am neither Unitarian, Trinitarian, an Arian or Socinian, but simply a Christian."¹ At one time theologians among the Christians met dogmatic assertions about Christ's deity with arguments for the "proper Sonship" of our Lord, inquiring how the Lord could be God and Son of God in a proper human sense at one and the same time. It appears therefore, that the Christians always repair to plain language, and understanding of the Bible according to average judgment, as to meaning and interpretation. Never for a moment have they surrendered the Bible, nor its simple direct use. People who have dubbed the Christians "Unitarian" and other harder names, failed to appreciate their standpoint, and misapprehended their intention. True religious freedom avoids all theological dogmatism. Freedom and revivalism have always characterized the Christians. Their fold has included men of all opinions, and men of deep convictions, but by mutual consent they laid aside their speculative opinions and divisive tenets in favor of practical Christianity, plain Scriptural teaching and winning men to Christ. Hence their loyalty to Christ, their loyalty to the Bible, loyalty to conscience, and success in reaching the common people.

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. XIV, p. 154.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER VIII

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Fuller description of works in former lists.

CHAPTER IX

CHAPTER IX

FULLY DEVELOPED DENOMINATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS— COLLEGE BUILDING

1850-1878

FOR decades a growing denominational consciousness had been observable. The Christians began to think of themselves as other denominations thought of themselves. And this consciousness actuated the Christian General Convention, held at Marion, N. Y., beginning October 2, 1850. That is a date to reckon from, and that Convention the expression of a new spirit and conviction dominating the people's thought. Eleven states and Canada had representation by eighty-two delegates, carrying five hundred twenty-one votes, from twenty-six conferences. No former Convention had been so thoroughly representative. We must get into this Convention enough to catch the new thrill of organic life.

The Christian General Book Association met contemporaneously, composed of the same delegates. By committee, officers were put in nomination and elected, Rev. D. P. Pike, of Massachusetts, being President, twelve vice-presidents being chosen representing as many different states. J. R. Freese, M. D., of Philadelphia, was elected Secretary, with two assistants, Rev. Thomas Holmes, still living, being one. A. M. Merrifield, Esq., of Massachusetts, was chosen Treasurer.

After adopting rules of order, the Convention called for the educational report, and considered what was then the paramount issue—establishment of a college—feeling its way to definite vote and plan for founding such an institution. Handsome plans were exhibited. During and between sessions much talk was indulged in regarding a theological school.

Devices for "more perfect and general organization of the Christian denomination" were called for. Missions, temperance, Sabbath schools, "sentiments of the Christian Connection," peace and slavery were all subjects properly introduced, and discussed and disposed of. Delegates voted on the expediency of establishing a general missionary society, and electing a missionary board, but ultimately laid by that matter for future conventions. Under head of "Sentiments of the Christian Connection" was adopted the following: "Your Committee on the Sentiments of the Christian Connection beg leave to present the *Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* as containing *in full the sentiments of the Christian denomination*, and respectfully submit them to the consideration of the Convention." The Committee went upon the convention floor carrying a large Bible in view of the gathering. Great enthusiasm was evoked.¹

The business of the Christian General Book Association was readjusted and divided, the Book Department going to 14 Crown Street, Philadelphia, under control of Dr. Freese, who should arrange for sub-agencies to handle all books and supplies usually carried by denominational publishing houses; and to gather statistics of the Christians and publish them in the "Christian Register and Almanac."² The Book Association published papers meantime, and that department of work was left as formerly, at Albany, N. Y. In 1851 the *Christian Herald* was sold by the Association, but the *Christian Palladium* was continued, with Jasper Hazen as editor.

But the overtopping theme at Marion was education. Much time was given to discussing the projected college and a proposed theological school, and means were actually set on foot to realize the college project, as will be shortly detailed.

¹ It should be mentioned, however, that Freese's History of the Christians, alongside the report of the Marion Convention, printed a seventy-eight-page disquisition on the "Sentiments." To meet criticism and calumny it was thought absolutely necessary to attempt definition of the position held by the Christians.

² See Minutes of the Convention.

The general awakening to need of secondary schools was now bearing more fruit.

We have said that a fully developed denominational consciousness was apparent. In several ways we can trace it: in the truly national and representative character of the Christian General Conference; in a general feeling of denominational need; in a thorough co-operation of all sections and delegates; in plans for better denominational organization; in an extended consideration of departmental enterprises; in frank recognition that denominational colleges and theological schools were needed; in the common rallying to establish a college; in an attempt to form a "Book Concern" patterned after those of other denominations. In short, what the sects needed for organic life, of general enterprises and means of training and culture, that the Christians saw themselves needing. Being a species of Samaritans, not allowed to build and worship at Jerusalem, they set about building their own sanctuaries, traditions, culture, and enterprises. The die was cast: with the founding and endowing of institutions, permanency was secured, and another denomination was perpetuated.

ANTIOCH COLLEGE

For several years ante-dating the Marion Convention leading men, laymen among them, had agitated college building, and denominational papers had aired the question so thoroughly that everybody acknowledged the desirability of a college representing the entire fellowship. Without delay, therefore, the Convention raised a committee of thirty-four on ways and means, with a sub-committee of thirteen for executive purposes; this Provisional Committee was empowered to locate said college in some accessible, healthful place offering sufficient inducement. Of the financial plans let one speak who had intimate acquaintance with the college in its infancy and was professor and acting president.¹

¹ Article of J. B. Weston, D. D., in Antioch College Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 4.

"Antioch College was projected by a people of broad and high ideals, but of little practical experience. This led to the adoption of means and methods entirely inadequate to the successful accomplishment of what was undertaken. A college of high rank, of entirely unsectarian liberality, open to students of both sexes on conditions of absolute equality, at a time when such a thing was an innovation, was to be established and maintained on an endowment of \$50,000, comprised of joint stockholdings of shares of \$100 each, under the name of scholarships, said shares to be deemed 'paid up' on giving a personal note of the amount, drawing six or eight per cent. interest, uncollectable as long as the interest was paid. Each share so held entitled the holder not only to vote in the election of Trustees, but to keep a student in school perpetually, either directly or by rental, free of charge for tuition. This ideal was soon raised to \$100,000. This was deemed largely safe. It was expected to locate the college in the State of New York, but the Ohio people took hold of the movement with so much greater enthusiasm that this became the center of hopes and expectations. The \$100,000 ideal was expanded still further, but the plan of relying on income from scholarship notes of the kind above named was still retained.

Prominent in the preliminary movement for the college was Mr. A. M. Merrifield, of Worcester, Mass. Mr. Merrifield was formerly from Conneaut, Ohio. He was there a convert of Rev. Oliver Barr, and was devoted to the interests of the church. He was a carpenter and builder. He had moved to Worcester, purchased a tract of land in the outskirts of Worcester as it then was, and built houses and sold them. He was deemed to be a man of considerable wealth and large business ability. (In the event it was seen that neither supposition was justified.) The building of Antioch College and the outline of its character was decided on at a convention held in Marion, Wayne County, N. Y., in October, 1850. Mr. Merrifield was present, and, though not a public

speaker, had much to do in shaping its counsels. There a large Provisional Committee was appointed, of which, for want of better material, I was made one, and from these a sub-committee, of which I was not one, to superintend more directly the carrying on of the work. Of this sub-committee Mr. Merrifield was Treasurer and business head. To him was committed the work of designing the buildings, and obtaining the architect's plans and estimates. I was employed a few months in raising funds for the college in New England, and had the honor of paying the first money to the Treasurer for the new college.

The work was taken up in Ohio with great zeal and enthusiasm; indeed, with the unthinking furor of a wild speculation. The idea was held up and accepted, that there would be a grand rush for scholarships in the new college, that every one would be in demand at full tuition rates, say eight dollars a term for three terms a year. Thus, the man who held a scholarship, for which he had given a note only, bearing six or eight per cent. interest, would have no trouble in renting it for twenty-four dollars a year, paying his interest, and putting the balance into his pocket without investing a cent in cash. I am not speaking at random. I have myself heard men boast their business acumen in subscribing for more than one share, with that purpose in view. In this way as much as \$125,000 was subscribed in scholarships. It was declared in the papers to be \$200,000. And it was counted as solid cash. Thus the bubble swelled. And the bubble was supposed to be all solid gold, and the college treasurer was, in imagination, plethoric in wealth." Each scholarship entitled the holder thereof to one vote in college affairs, except that no person should have more than ten votes. Two-thirds of the instructors and trustees were to be members of the Christian denomination.

The Provisional Committee members present at Marion at once met, organized, and adopted the name "Antioch College,"

and arranged for soliciting agents.¹ The committee decided in October, 1851, to locate the College in Ohio. When the sub-committee met at old Knob Prairie Christian Church, a few miles west of Springfield, Ohio, offers from Yellow Springs were accepted and Antioch College to be was located in that town, then noted for its sulphur springs. A charter was obtained, and three buildings were planned—two dormitories and a recitation hall. Judge Mills, of Yellow Springs, donated twenty acres of land and pledged the town for \$30,000 cash. Hon. Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, was invited to the college presidency September 15, 1852, and the same day was nominated for governor of his native state by the Free Soil Party (free Democracy). He accepted the former honor, not knowing what conditions were at Yellow Springs, but only hoping for opportunity to work out many cherished plans.

Horace Mann was born in Franklin, Mass., May 4, 1796, on a farm. The elder Mann died when Horace was only a lad. But the boy fought his way to success. He graduated from Brown University, and then studied law. As a member of the state legislature in 1827 he espoused reformatory measures. In 1836 he was president of the state senate, and for eleven years secretary of the state Board of Education. Here he began his greatest work as an educator, and in spite of opposition secured establishment of normal schools in his state. In 1848 he was elected to Congress in place of ex-president John Q. Adams. After serving his term he entered upon his duties as president of Antioch College. While lecturing in the west, he found himself near Yellow Springs and visited the scene of his future labors. The college site was a wheat field, whence had been cleared a few years before the virgin forests, tree stumps still appearing. But to Mr. Mann the location was beautiful, looking upon the idyllic ravine where the springs bubbled forth.

¹ Rev. D. Millard was chosen President of the committee, Rev. W. R. Stowe, Vice-President, Rev. Eli Fay, Secretary, and A. M. Merrifield, Treasurer.

Mr. Mann at once gathered his faculty, held meetings with them, and laid out tentative courses of study, preparatory and undergraduate. Early in September, 1853, they all journeyed to Yellow Springs for his inaugural and opening of College. As the buildings were far from ready, a considerable improvisation was needful to accommodate faculty, one hundred fifty students who entered the first day, and three thousand people who attended the inaugural. A freshman class of eight was formed. Those were days of great privation and some suffering for all connected with the College. Many weeks passed before the buildings were completed, and Yellow Springs itself was a crude town, but "booming."

Added to all other discomforts were personal jealousies in the faculty, ill-will toward President Mann because he was a Unitarian, (and yet he identified himself with the Christians,) a feeling that eastern culture and ways were not consonant with western, and looming financial embarrassments.¹ "The income was limited, therefore, chiefly to what came from interest on notes. And as the demand for rented scholarships did not come as was expected, interest on many notes was not paid. On many no interest was ever paid. Others made a few payments and stopped. A few were paid in full. The salaries of the faculty were inadequate at the best. Mr. Mann's was \$1,500, the others \$1,000 each. But even so the expenses of each year increased the indebtedness of the College. Appeals for aid were made to wealthy men in New York and Boston. The debt was said to be about twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars. There was a disposition to stand by Horace Mann. Delegations came to investigate the real condition of things. They could find out nothing. The indebtedness was a bottomless pit. Merrifield's confusion had left no data on which to found an estimate. Meantime, outside matters dragged slowly. Scholarships were not in demand

¹ Article of J. B. Weston, D. D., in Antioch College Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 4.

as expected. People were not rushing in to push up the prices of lots on which hopes of speculation had been built. The boom began to subside. Lots that had been sold were not paid for. The notes that Judge Mills held were uncollectable, the lots came tumbling back upon his hands unpaid for, and the properties he had taken elsewhere were unsaleable. The disappointed ones felt that they had lost the money they had never had, and Judge Mills and Antioch College had to bear the curses of it all. Such was the experience of the life of Antioch College and of Judge Mills and Yellow Springs. The College authorities saw that the institution could be carried on no longer in that way. They could find out nothing of its indebtedness except that it was increasing without resources to meet it. Their only way was to acknowledge themselves bankrupt, put their affairs into the hands of a receiver, find out thus how they stood, let the school be carried on meantime by Mr. Mann and his faculty, and meet their fate as best they could. After two years of the settling process the property was sold under a foreclosure. It was appraised at \$65,000, and was bid in by a new corporation for two-thirds that amount. The indebtedness of the first corporation was found to be over \$80,000, every cent of which was paid by the new corporation, and Horace Mann continued in his work."

And yet the College throve. It became famous, partly because of its famous president, partly because of its *morale*. In 1855 to 1856 there were three hundred sixty-three students in all department; and in 1856 to 1857, five hundred thirty-nine; three hundred twenty-one in 1857 to 1858. The last named year Rev. J. B. Weston was principal of the preparatory department. Money had been solicited both among Christians and Unitarians to buy in the college, which was knocked off for \$40,200, and for the payment of claims against the institution, which then passed into control of twenty trustees, a close corporation, as against the stockholders' corporation. An endowment of \$100,000 was also

provided. The Unitarians furnished most of the money, and had twelve members on the board of trustees, giving the Christians eight.¹ The total cost of Antioch College for the first five years, including running expenses was \$206,242.05.² Various expedients were tried to retrieve the disaster, but all failed because the necessary cash was not procured.³

This chapter of history is painful to all friends of Antioch College, and members of the Christian denomination. The College has continued its existence on funds provided by Unitarian friends, up to the present time, and largely without patronage of the Christians. However, it should be understood that the College charter hinders the school from ever becoming sectarian in its teaching.

The following have been presidents of Antioch for the terms indicated: Horace Mann, LL. D., 1852-1859; Thomas Hill, D. D., LL. D., 1859-1862; Austin Craig, D. D., 1862-1865 (J. B. Weston, D. D., acting); Austin Craig, D. D., 1865-1866; George W. Hosmer, D. D., 1866-1873; Edward Orton, M. A., Ph. D., 1873; S. C. Derby, M. A. (acting), 1873-1875; C. S. Derby, M. A., 1875-1876; J. B. Weston, D. D. (acting), 1876-1877; S. C. Derby, M. A., 1877-1881; Rev. O. J. Wait, M. A., 1882-1883; Daniel A. Long, D. D., LL. D., 1883-1899; W. A. Bell, LL. D., 1899-1902; Stephen F. Weston, dean, 1902-1906; S. D. Fess, D. D., 1906—.

Mann, Craig, Weston, Wait, Long and Bell were all members of the Christian denomination. Hill was afterward president of Harvard University. Such famous names appear on the board of trustees as: H. W. Bellows, Edward E. Hale, Robert L. Collyer, Brooke Herford and Hon. J. Warren Keifer.

¹ At first the Christians were accorded twelve trustees, the Unitarians having eight. ² See Gos. Her., December 8, 1858. ³ See Chris. Pall., Vol. XXVI, pp. 218, 249, 282, 332, 357, 408. Gardner, pp. 121, 124, 126, 127, 216, 217. Minutes A. C. C. 1866, pp. 18, 20.

UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

In Indiana an educational revival among the Christians resulted in establishing another college. Some parties earlier interested in Antioch became thoroughly engaged in another project which had profited by the blunder committed in the first undertaking.

Merom, Sullivan County, Ind., was a decaying town in the early 50's, because it had lost the county seat. For Merom was on the Wabash River, at the western edge of the county—a beautiful location, indeed, but off the railroad. In 1856 Rev. E. W. Humphreys and a gentleman named I. W. Allen, incorporated the Merom Bluff Academy, turning the old courthouse into an academy building. Their school prospered finely, and they were instrumental in the educational revival before mentioned. Mr. Humphreys broached the subject of a denominational school in the Western Indiana Conference session of 1858; at which time \$11,000 was named as a desirable sum of money to launch such school. The Eastern Indiana Conference heartily endorsed the undertaking, and a meeting of Indiana conferences in Eel River Chapel, between Peru and Logansport, inaugurated the project, setting their money aim at \$35,000, electing a committee or board of trustees to carry forward the enterprise. At that meeting also Rev. Abraham Snethen, the famous "barefoot preacher," an evangelist of remarkable personality and power, suggested the name, "Union Christian College." The provisional committee was Thomas Kern, N. G. Buff, A. R. Heath, and A. W. Sanford.

After visiting various locations, the committee chose Merom, whose citizens offered \$35,000 and Merom Bluff Academy. Funds for building and endowment were solicited, the shareholder plan being again employed, as in case of Antioch, but with safeguards. (The plan still controls the College's destiny). There were seven hundred shareholders reported. A charter was secured soon after location.¹

¹ Minutes A. C. C. 1866, p. 18.

Rev. Nicholas Summerbell, then of Des Moines, Iowa, was invited to the presidency and accepted in 1860. College was immediately begun in the Academy building, continuing there until the new edifice was dedicated in December, 1862, on the eve of the great Civil War. (The cornerstone had been laid in November of 1859.)

Nicholas Summerbell was born in Westchester County, N. Y., March 8, 1816, son of James and Mary Summerbell. Left an orphan, the boy was brought up by his grandfather Nicholas Summerbell, a weaver by trade, who lived on a farm. When fourteen years old young Nicholas went to New York City to make his way. After various experiences he became a merchant tailor, and was converted while in that occupation. He began to preach about 1840, in New Jersey and New England, and had a long remarkable career as minister of the gospel. He became home missionary in the west, until his name was a household word in several states east of the Mississippi, as well as in Iowa and farther west. When the Civil War broke out Nicholas Summerbell became army chaplain, for the time leaving his college duties. In 1870 he began publishing *The Christian Pulpit*, a monthly magazine, which he issued from Cincinnati, Ohio, while he was pastor in that city; and later he became editor of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* and publishing agent of The Christian Publishing Association, extricating it from serious debt. He served the denomination in many capacities and with singular fidelity and ability. Authorship was natural with him. Being a man of strong character and commanding personality, he carried great influence.

As first president of Union Christian College, Dr. Summerbell put it on good financial footing, gave it an excellent reputation, and left it with a large attendance of students. His own son, Joseph J. Summerbell, was the first graduate, and has shed luster on his *alma mater* for many years. He became instructor in the College, and a preacher of the gospel. Later

he shared in his father's literary labors, and came into great prominence in denominational affairs. At Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1889, Nicholas Summerbell died, mourned by thousands.

The College had a hard struggle for existence, but at various times endowments have been secured, enabling it to continue a work of untold value to the denomination. More of its history will be given in a subsequent chapter.¹ Rev. A. R. Heath, of Covington, Ind., is credited with having made very great sacrifice, perhaps greater than most others, in behalf of this school.

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

We have adverted to agitation, before and during the Christian General Convention of 1850, for a theological school. Biblical departments had been established at both Antioch and Union Christian Colleges; but still a "school of the prophets" was deemed needful. As early as 1827 Rev. Simon Clough, of New York, proposed that Unitarians and Christians should unite in establishing a theological school, preferably in the historic Hudson River valley. But nothing came of that suggestion. In 1843 some influential Christians co-operated with some wealthy Unitarians in founding Meadville Theological School at Meadville, Pa. H. J. Huidekoper, a native of Holland and a man of excellent Christian character, who became identified with the Unitarians in Meadville, invested largely, and was really the founder of the School. But his son, Rev. Frederick Huidekoper, was the guiding spirit for several years. Most of the money came from Unitarian sources, but a majority of early students from among the Christians. In 1844, the year the School was opened, Rev. Joseph Badger was elected a trustee and member of the visiting committee, serving until his death. Rev. David Millard was elected to a professorship of Biblical antiquities and sacred

¹ See Our Work, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 2 ff. H. G. L., June 6, 1874.

geography, which he held for twenty years.¹ Still later Rev. Austin Craig became a member of the faculty, lecturing on Biblical topics, filling his position with marked success. Several eminent ministers of the Christians, some of them still in active service, were trained at Meadville. And yet the affiliation was never satisfactory to the Christians and was finally abandoned.²

CHRISTIAN BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

Away back in 1857 Rev. Daniel P. Pike reported a fund of \$387.62 gathered for a Biblical School which it was hoped to establish at Andover Center, N. H.³ Rev. Oliver Barr had been canvassing for funds, with good success, to endow a Biblical department in Antioch College, when his career was cut short by a terrible railroad accident in the East. The project of a Biblical school languished for years, but was revived at the American Christian Convention held at Marshall, Mich., in 1866. Several men in the New York Eastern Conference bestirred themselves and secured a charter in 1868. Money was solicited by the note plan and others, and when \$20,000 had been obtained, the school was opened October 6, 1869, in Foreman Hall, Starkey Seminary, Eddytown (now Lakemont), N. Y. Rev. Austin Craig was invited to the presidency and accepted, being the whole faculty at first. He was beyond question the greatest man raised up in the denomination.

Austin Craig was born in 1824, in Peapack, N. J., son of Moses and Rachel Carhart Craig. The senior Craig had been a teacher, a merchant, and was a large farmer in 1828. He had twice served with honor in the New Jersey state senate. Austin was very religious, and joined the Presbyterian church

¹ To perfect himself for the position, he traveled in the Orient. See *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land*, by David Millard. 1843. H. Ludwig, New York. Third edition, 1847. ² *Chris. Her.*, Vol. II, p. 127. *Chris. Pall.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 19, 80, 285, 340; Vol. XV, pp. 29, 81, 84, 226. Also *Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger*, *passim*; *Life and Writings of David Millard*, *passim*; *Life and Writings of H. Y. Rush*, D. D., Chap. III. ³ H. G. L., April 23, 1857

in his thirteenth year immediately following his conversion. At the age of sixteen he entered Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., spending four years there and receiving both B. A. and M. A. degrees. Part of his college career was during the exciting days of "Millerism." Young Craig preached his first regular sermon in 1843 in his father's house. Next year the New Jersey Conference licensed him, ordaining him in 1845. He was always a great student and omniverous reader, gifted with a most tenacious memory, aided by splendid judgment and logical faculty. Craig's address before the New Jersey Conference in 1850 was a remarkable production for a young man of twenty-six years. Horace Greeley welcomed it to the *New York Tribune*, and it was printed in pamphlet form, widely read and discussed.

Dr. Craig was acquainted with all branches of learning, was a splendid Greek scholar, and the peer of the best Hebraists in the country. As a Bible scholar he was independent and acute, a master of exegesis.

His most fruitful pastorate was at Blooming Grove, N. Y., where he had opportunity to pursue his studies and mature his thoughts. He became acquainted with men like E. E. Hale, H. W. Bellows, H. W. Beecher, General Garfield, Horace Mann, Theodore Parker, and Bishop McQuaid (Catholic). By Horace Mann's influence Craig became a professor at Antioch, later being president of the College, succeeding Thomas Hill. During his Blooming Grove pastorate and his connection with Antioch he was a regular lecturer at Meadville Theological School, where his service continued until 1869. In this year he became first president of the Christian Biblical Institute. He was chosen a member of the American Committee to revise the Bible, because of his scholarship in Greek and Hebrew.

At the zenith of his power and usefulness he was seized with mortal illness and died suddenly, August 27, 1881. Due honor has never been accorded this man; but his greatness

was recognized by his compeers of all denominations. There are men still living who manifest in their work the influence and teaching of Austin Craig. No man's impress is so visible as his in the Christian Biblical Institute, even at the present day.

At intervals funds were raised to enlarge the Institute's endowment, and with rigid economy all bills were met. Finally, in 1872, the board of trustees decided to seek a permanent location, and had several to select from, eventually choosing Stanfordville, Dutchess County, N. Y., on the railroad east of Poughkeepsie.

Back in 1816 a boy named David Clark was much impressed by the preaching of Rev. Levi Hathaway, a noted evangelist among the early Christians in New England, who held service near the Clark residence in eastern Connecticut. Many years later, when Clark lived in Hartford, had amassed ample means, and had thoroughly devoted himself to Christian beneficence, he began to think how he might aid impecunious students studying for the ministry. His attention was called to the Christian Biblical Institute which he visited in 1872 by invitation. There he found need for his benevolent help, and chiefly through his agency Stanfordville was made the seat of the Institute, provided with a main building, a dormitory, a president's mansion, and a small farm. No one can measure the worth to the denomination of the benefactions of Hon. David Clark.

Some very strong men have been connected with the faculty, including R. J. Wright, Warren Hathaway, Isaac C. Goff, and others, besides Drs. Craig and Weston, former Presidents. Dr. Weston is now in his ninetieth year, a man of ripe and rich scholarship.

LE GRAND CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

The idea of a college for the state of Iowa was born of a conversation between Rev. J. P. Watson and Rev. D. M. Lines,

held at the railroad station in Belvidere, Ill., when the latter proposed to the former that they go to the new country of Iowa and there establish a Christian school.¹ Both went to Iowa, Watson locating at Marshalltown, and Lines going a little farther east to Le Grand. Watson hoped to gather several small country churches into one in Marshalltown, and then build a school there. He was disappointed; and then turned attention to Le Grand. He went to the Iowa Central Conference with his school project, and that body resolved to establish a school, appointing a committee on location. The committee found the people of Le Grand and vicinity ripe for just such an undertaking, and chose to locate there. This town is located on the beautiful rolling prairie east of Marshalltown, and near the noted Le Grand limestone quarries, whence came the group of Le Grand fossils now reposing in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C. Representative citizens were called together in mass meeting to consider the project. The result was founding of Le Grand Christian Institute in 1865, with Rev. D. M. Lines as principal and his wife as assistant, with a combined salary of seventy-five dollars per month. The townspeople, by committee, chose a board of trustees of fifteen members, who secured a twenty-five-year charter for the Institute, in April, 1865, a little later turning over control to the Iowa Central Christian Conference, which, in turn, transferred the school to the Iowa State Christian Conference.²

Actual school operations in the academical department began in October of the same year, sessions being held in the Christian Church building, and there continuing until September, 1867, under Mr. Lines. Meantime the first Institute building was erected, forty by sixty feet, two stories high, with seven rooms and a chapel, in which sessions began in September, under the principalship of Mrs. Josephine Guthrie. In

¹ H. G. L., October 23, 1890.

² Most of the material for this sketch was furnished by Rev. J. W. Piper, President E. C. Kerr, and Rev. J. W. Fortner.

constructing the building the citizens made "bees" and hauled all building material free. Some donated money and labor. The property valuation of the Institute was then \$10,000, with \$13,000 endowment. Rev. O. A. Roberts was elected principal in 1868. Patronage was good, and scholarship was maintained at high grade. Then progress was hampered by financial troubles, which caused suspension of Institute sessions from 1870 to 1873, in the hope that funds might be secured to meet obligations due. As elsewhere, the trouble grew out of endowment notes, on large part of which nothing but a little interest was realized. In 1873 Rev. F. R. Wade was made principal for one year, with an assistant; but he closed the school before the year was out. Friends rallied for a determined effort, enabling Prof. Charles Ellison to finish out the school year, and he retained his position two years longer. Rev. J. Q. Evans followed Prof. Ellison, it being stipulated that whatever was received on endowment notes and for tuition should constitute his salary. Successful work was done until 1878.

Rev. J. Q. Evans and Rev. William Bagley, financial agents of the school, had undertaken to place \$5,000 of cash and good pledges, toward a new building, in the treasurer's hands not later than May 1, 1878. On the strength of their promise, plans and specifications for a students' home were adopted in March, the estimated cost of the building to be about \$8,000, and work to be begun May 1, if Evans and Bagley fulfilled their purpose. The money was in hand on the date set, and building operations began at once. Rev. Nicholas Summerbell delivered the address when the cornerstone was laid, in June, 1878. A building forty by one hundred feet, with basement and three stories above, was commenced. This new edifice was built to connect onto the east end of the old one, No room was left suitable for school sessions, and another interregnum followed, the chief struggle being to complete the new edifice.

By those best acquainted with its history, S. T. and Harriet Coate are regarded as the real founders of the school, on account of their large sacrifices for it; and doubtless much credit should be given to them. But many another nameless and forgotten friend was worthy of mention.

WEAUBLEAU CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

In the late sixties there was, in Hickory County, Missouri, a "lone prairie" which is to-day the site of a thriving town and college. A sparsely settled community occupied that locality. The people became interested in education, and on New Year's day, 1868, decided to build a two-story brick building on the prairie, named Weaubleau, the upper story for church purposes, the lower for an academy, controlled by the Christians. A charter was obtained in 1869. In October, 1871, school began sessions in the building, and there made its home for twenty years. The moving spirit in this enterprise was Rev. John Whitaker, a minister of the Christian denomination, who had received his education in Union Christian College. He was organizer and pastor of the church, and was made principal of the school.

In those early days no railroad passed within forty miles of Weaubleau, and the nearest post-office was five miles away. Kansas City was distant one hundred thirty-five miles. Perforce patronage of the academy was local. The community itself was pleasant, and the prairie's elevation—nine hundred feet above sea level—insured healthfulness. A few years after the school was founded the Frisco railroad was built through the community, and a small town sprang up, its inhabitants prospered, good public buildings were erected, and one thousand people to-day enjoy advantages of modern town life.

John Whitaker was born in Ohio, in 1842, his parents moving to Iowa when he was very young, and later to Missouri, where he lived nearly all his life after his sixteenth year. In its second year he entered Union Christian College,

but left and enlisted in the army at the breaking out of the Civil War, serving first in the Missouri mounted militia, and later in the 21st Indiana heavy artillery. He was in service almost continually until Lee's surrender. When mustered out of service, he returned and completed his college course at Merom, and then went to Missouri. He began to preach and was ordained to the ministry in 1863, becoming pastor of the country church mentioned early in the above sketch of the College. His marriage to Miss Emiline Earnest occurred in 1866. John Whitaker was gifted with diverse talents, but did his great work as an educator. His students received a peculiar inspiration from him, and many of them became prominent in school circles, as principals or superintendents of schools. Mr. Whitaker also served three terms in the state legislature, his last election being by the largest majority ever given to a candidate in Hickory County. His genius for business was remarkable, and he might have become a wealthy man, had he not been very liberal in his bestowal of his means. The College greatly benefitted by his executive talent. At the time of his death, in 1910, he was president of the Brownington State Bank, and Supervisor of the Census in his congressional district. In addition to all this Dr. Whitaker displayed considerable talent as platform lecturer and as an author, some of his literary work exhibiting talent of the first order. Probably no man did so much to establish the cause of the Christians in Missouri as did he.

GRAHAM INSTITUTE

Like several other Institutes, whose history we are tracing, this one ultimately became a college. The North Carolina and Virginia Conference had taken hold of Rev. J. R. Holt's private school, in 1849, determined to make a conference or church institution of it. At Graham, N. C., a two-story brick building was erected, and Mr. Holt was retained in charge of the school, which formally opened as "Graham Institute" in July, 1852,

remaining until 1857. The last named year "Graham College" was chartered as a co-educational school by legislative enactment, when Rev. W. H. Doherty, of Antioch College, Ohio, was called to the presidency. Another forward step occurred in 1858. The General Convention (South) assumed charge of the College, choosing a board of trustees for it, and planning to increase its stock to \$4,000. Pronounced success attended the College until Civil War times. A small debt was hanging over it, and the trustees, to satisfy that claim, sold the entire property, investing the residue in Confederate bonds. When the War ended the bonds were worthless, and Graham College was no longer in existence.

Several men of great ability and worth to the Christians attended Graham Institute in Mr. Holt's day. He is even spoken of as real founder of Elon College.¹ After quitting Graham Institute, Mr. Holt became principal of an academy in Chatham County, and then of an academy in Randolph County, N. C. His worth as an educator seems never to have been fairly appreciated. Just before his death, he and other members of a committee were planning to make Shiloh Academy, scene of his last labors, a school of the Deep River Christian Conference.

GRAHAM COLLEGE

From 1861 to 1869 the Graham College property was a tobacco warehouse. Rev. W. S. Long, an educator of excellent success and ability, opened a private school in Graham town, which was greatly prospered. The prosperity demanded larger quarters, and Dr. Long purchased the old Graham College property, renovated it, and moved his school to it. Success continued. Rev. D. A. Long also a successful educator, was associated with his brother in the College, and about 1875 bought the institution, and obtained a charter for it under caption of "Graham Normal College."

¹ Chris. Sun, January 25, 1911.

Here he continued until 1883, seeing his school growing and widening its influence. Then he accepted the presidency of Antioch College. How the present Elon College grew out of this school is subject for a later chapter.

NEW ENGLAND CHRISTIAN LITERARY INSTITUTE

For this Institute a long and determined fight was made by Christians in New England, as many hopes were bound up with its success or failure. In February, 1857, the New England Christian Literary Institute was formally opened, at Andover, N. H., a small town among the hills a few miles northwest of Franklin. A considerable number of prominent laymen and ministers composed its board of trustees, Hon. Samuel Butterfield, of Concord, being President. J. Wesley Simonds, M. A., thoroughly competent and favorably known, was head master, assisted by seven other instructors. Nearly one hundred pupils enrolled the first session, and in all respects except finances prosperity seemed assured. But the money end dragged. The Merrimack Conference, foster-parent of the Andover school, labored to rid it of debt about 1859; and when Rev. J. W. Haley became head in 1860, he urged raising endowment funds. That expedient was tried and realized something more than \$5,000 under Rev. Thomas Bartlett's administration. As funds were utterly inadequate, Andover Institute had to bow to the inevitable and suspend, late in the year 1865.

WOLFEBORO CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

About this time a plan was executed which practically saved all that was salvable of the Andover school. There was in Wolfeboro, on beautiful Winnepesaukee Lake, a defunct school called "Wolfeborough and Tuftonborough Academy," a building for which the citizens of those towns erected in 1820. It, too, had failed for lack of endowment, leaving the building idle for many years. About 1865 someone began to talk of moving the Andover school to Wolfeboro to utilize the old

Academy property. Accordingly when the New England Christian Convention and its co-ordinate organizations met in 1866, a plan was sprung: Convention recommended removal to Wolfeboro, and application of funds belonging to the Andover school toward endowment for a merged school to be known as "Wolfeboro Christian Institute." The Educational Society (one of the co-ordinate bodies of the Convention) leased the old Academy property, repaired the building, and opened school in 1866 under Principal E. F. Moulton. Unfortunately division of sentiment about Institute management existed in the town and board of trustees, and meddlers interfered with its management. In 1870 J. W. Simonds, once at the head of Andover Institute, was engaged, the management was re-organized, and success attended the school.

The trustees carefully considered all conditions and the Institute's welfare in 1873, finally voting to remove from Wolfeboro. A debt of \$5,000 confronted the Educational Society in 1870. An effort was made to clear that off and raise \$20,000 endowment. Debt and unpleasantness over the school evidently tipped the balance for removal. Hence it went back to Andover in 1874, and has since been known as Proctor Academy. Attendance was good in the new location, but the Academy never escaped its financial difficulties while under control of the Christians. About 1879 a proposition to sell was made to the Educational Society, and eventually Proctor Academy was purchased by Unitarians, provided with commodious buildings, and adequately endowed. To-day the Academy prospers and has a good constituency. Thus ended the very determined struggle in New England to plant and maintain a school. Nothing was lacking except endowment.

STARKEY SEMINARY

When Prof. Chadwick assumed charge of the Seminary in 1847, a most discouraging task confronted him. He was himself a man of splendid training and scholarly tastes, a graduate

of Bowdoin College and Bangor Theological Seminary. He faced this situation: The buildings were dilapidated, students had decreased till but few were left, the institution had but little equipment, the external appearance of the school was very uninviting; add to this a lack of funds and an existing debt, and one may imagine what a task was before the new principal. But without wavering he set himself to work. A charter was secured in 1848, and thenceforward the Seminary was under care of the regents of the New York State University, eligible to receive public funds for educational purposes. Prof. Chadwick's energetic administration soon provided an able faculty, raised the standard of instruction, increased the list of students to about three hundred, drawing them from Canada, New England, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Kentucky, Indiana, as well as New York; the library had twelve hundred volumes; and discipline and *morale* improved very greatly. All this improvement meant good backing from friends of the institution and the board of trustees. Mrs. Chadwick is said to have added very much to Starkey's success. In teaching ability she was her husband's peer. The years of Prof. Chadwick's administration were fruitful in sending out men and women who reached high stations and filled capable spheres of life.

In the fall of 1861 Prof. O. F. Ingoldsby assumed charge. He had already spent five years in the school as student and teacher. He had largely imbibed Prof. Chadwick's spirit, and to that is probably due much of his success, for his administration was eminently successful, although he began his labors just at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Attendance upon sessions was not what it had been prior to war times, but Prof. Ingoldsby became very popular, and students overcrowded his school. By permission of the trustees, he undertook to raise money for another building, securing eight thousand dollars in sixty days. Construction of a new building began at once, and in December, 1866, Hathaway Hall,

so named for Elisha Hathaway, of Bristol, R. I., was opened for use as a ladies' dormitory. Much labor and money were still required to complete the new dormitory and put other buildings and the grounds in proper condition. Old students know very well how much Prof. Ingoldby's services were worth to Starkey and the denomination. Prof. B. F. McHenry and Prof. R. D. Evans upheld the high standard set by their predecessors, the latter closing his term of service in 1878, when Prof. Ingoldby again became head of the Seminary. The Christians of New York have had reason to congratulate themselves upon Starkey's good record, and the years just reviewed are recalled as the halcyon days of Starkey Seminary. In a later chapter more will be said of the enlarged school.

OTHER SCHOOLS

Holy Neck Female Seminary, located near a church of that name in Nansemond County, Virginia, in 1853, was established through the instrumentality of Rev. W. B. Wellons, of the Eastern Virginia Conference, who had previously conducted a school for young ladies in Suffolk, Virginia, in his home. At a conference held the year named, Mr. Wellons advocated establishing a school for young ladies, and subscriptions were taken to the amount of two thousand dollars. For several years the Seminary seems to have continued, and then it dropped out of sight.

In New England, located at Middleboro, Massachusetts, was a private school, founded in 1854, generally considered as a denominational institution, being owned by Amos H. Eaton, of Middleboro, and Rev. H. M. Eaton, of Providence, Rhode Island. It was advertised in denominational periodicals and received the backing of the brotherhood, so far as moral influence and patronage were concerned.

In the minutes of the American Christian Convention for 1866, and in current periodicals for the year, occurs the name of a school called Red Creek Academy, located at a place of

that name in New York state. This school also received patronage from the Christians, and its principal was *ex-officio* member of the American Christian Convention. Doubtless other schools had a loose connection with the Christians, receiving both their moral support and patronage of their youth. Of Suffolk Collegiate Institute, at Suffolk, Virginia, more will be said in a following chapter, since its history lies mostly in a period treated of later. The year book for 1879 advertises Quaker Street Institute, at Quaker Street, N. Y., a school that sought patronage like many another of similar character.

Looking back one admires the character and consecration of those men and women who established early institutions of learning, or made heroic sacrifices to that end. Educationally they were strong and capable, holding first-class rank as educators, maintaining a high standard of excellence in instruction, and had sufficient money been behind their enterprises, marked success would have followed. This chapter has clearly revealed the fruits of the early revival of education among the Christians. Struggles and sacrifices there were in abundance, mistakes were plentiful, but educational work was begun that proved both permanent and highly beneficial. Denominational development was rapid during those years.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER IX

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Printed Minutes of the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Conference for 1875.

Printed Minutes of the New England Christian Convention for 1866, 1868 and 1875.

Christian Almanac for 1860, 1875 and 1877.

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Lives of Christian Ministers, by P. J. Kernodle, M. A., referred to in previous chapters.

Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger, by E. G. Holland, referred to in a previous chapter.

The autobiography of Elder Matthew Gardner, edited by N. Summerbell, D. D. The Christian Publishing Association, Dayton, Ohio, 1874.

Memoir of Rev. David Millard, by his son, D. E. Millard. The Christian Publishing Association, Dayton, Ohio, 1874.

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CHAPTER X

CHAPTER X

CHRISTIAN GENERAL CONVENTION—OTHER CONVENTIONS— JOURNALISM

1850-1877

WE HAVE already studied the quadrennial session of the Christian General Convention of 1850, and its enlarged organization and plans. Here we continue that body's history. During the quadrennium following 1850, Antioch College became a reality, and proved a great denominational stimulus, bringing the denomination into considerable prominence in the country. Therefore, when the Convention met in Christian Chapel, Longworth Street, Cincinnati, in 1854, it was still under impulse of the Marion, N. Y., gathering of four years previous, and the flush of the college project achieved. A thoroughly representative body of ministers and laymen gathered at Cincinnati, to forward the cause, nearly six hundred voting members being present. The whole assembly felt that grave questions were impending, and perhaps no session of the Convention before or since has been under like tension. Already disquieting rumors and some prejudice had arisen regarding the president and administration of Antioch College. Some were disappointed that a hoped-for theological department could not be added to Antioch, while others felt considerable relief that the needed school of the prophets was not located there; the general feeling was that a theological school must be had, and yet many able men did not favor special theological training. The alliance of Christians with Unitarians at Meadville Theological School was not hailed with acclamation, and even when Rev. Dr. R. P. Stebbins, the scholarly Christian president of that School affiliated himself with the Christians, he was not received with open

arms. When the Convention at Cincinnati was organized for business and Dr. Stebbins was made president, that action disquieted not a few. It is easy to see how the educational question was involved, and why much anxiety had been awakened.

The slavery question was agitating the whole country. Northern conferences and periodicals had been outspoken in condemnation of slaveholding, and the southern organ had made rejoinder in spirited manner, although southern conference sentiment was expressed in rather more temperate language.

Clay's compromise plan of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska controversy in 1854 had inflamed moral sentiment in the North to almost unendurable heat. When the Christian General Convention gathered, its members could not do otherwise than manifest popular agitation and sentiment. These in brief were reasons for that unusual tension under which the Cincinnati convention labored. Printed reports of remarks and debates as business proceeded are exceedingly interesting.

The Christian Book Association met contemporaneously with the Convention, members of one organization being also members of the other. Convention considered these subjects: temperance, anti-slavery, peace, religious liberty, Sabbath observance, tobacco use, pauperism and crime, woman's rights, need of a Biblical school and more Sunday-schools.

Like the previous quadrennial session, this one saw necessity for organized missionary effort, and it elected a Board of Missions,¹ to care for the "Foreign and Domestic Missions of the Church;" but that Board was dilatory in organizing and failed to accomplish anything of moment. Of course it had nothing to work with.

A resolution passed the Convention raising a committee

¹ I. C. Goff, New Jersey; E. Fay, New York; E. Edmunds, Massachusetts; N. Summerbell, Ohio; Thomas Henry, Canada; M. Kildder, Vermont; S. S. Kimball, Illinois.

of ten to report at the next Convention on a "Biblical School." That question was eased off for the time being.

But when the committee of three, A. L. McKinney, Philetus Roberts and W. B. Wellons, that had been considering slavery, offered majority and minority reports, a crisis was reached in Convention. Two northern men and one southern composed the committee. The majority report was read, declaring slavery an infringement of human rights, which should by all honorable means be stopped from spreading into territory where it did not then exist. As for slaveholding brethren in the South, no radical measure was recommended; but they were earnestly desired to retreat from their position concerning enslavement of human beings. At once debate was precipitated, and amendments were offered. Rev. W. B. Wellons, the southern member, offered his minority report, and was briefly heard in its behalf. He assumed the denominational position, individual liberty and right of private judgment, insisting that the South had a right to manage her own domestic institutions. Further amendment of the majority report was offered, making it still more offensive, demanding that slavery and its supporters should be disfellowshipped. Dearing, of Michigan, explained that he was instructed to offer such a resolution, and that his conference would not hold representation in a body that had pro-slavery representatives. Several other delegates said their conferences held a like purpose. A resolution was offered declaring the Fugitive Slave Law contrary to Biblical teaching, and demanding repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Then Wellons arose, declaring that his further participation in the Convention seemed undesired, and that he would withdraw on behalf of his constituency. He left the room, and others with him. Debate was shut off by the presiding officer, the motion put, and the majority report carried. Thus the denomination was cleft, and each section went its own way for nearly forty years. A considerable portion of the Convention's members felt that action had been

too precipitate, and that the language used in the resolution and debate were needlessly severe; but that the moral issue itself demanded positive action against slavery.

For several years slavery and the Cincinnati convention's action were discussed in denominational periodicals and in conferences, engendering further bitterness between the northern and southern sections, and in 1856 the churches South virtually became a separate denomination, re-organizing with closer fellowship for mutual preservation.

In 1858 the Christian General Convention convened in Clinton Hall, New York City. For several years the Christians had prospered in the metropolis, and strong men had been leading. The time was auspicious for a convention in New York, and many interests needing care were located eastward. Attendance was not large, but important matters came from committees to the Convention. How to redeem Antioch was earnestly discussed; but no satisfactory solution was found. One delegate had in mind publication of a Sunday-school paper, and its establishment was recommended by Convention. Consolidation of all denominational periodicals into one was recommended, together with formation of a stock company publishing association for all the denomination. A committee was chosen to secure a charter for such an association. Hitherto the Convention had acted as a voluntary deliberative body without constitution; but matters had arisen showing the wisdom of complete organization, and during this Convention a form of constitution and by-laws was reported and adopted—a long step in advance.

Medway, a charming country village near the foot of the Catskill Mountains in New York, entertained the United States Quadrennial Christian Convention in 1862. There a committee of fifteen was appointed to negotiate for publication of a "central" denominational organ to be secured as soon as practicable; and Convention furthermore recommended that the Christian General Book Association place its property at

the disposal of a new incorporated body planned by a "Central Convention" for publication of that central organ. This action indicated strong demand for an organ of denominational scope and circulation, with a publishing establishment for denominational headquarters for such business. Educational matters were still a live theme, and this Convention was keenly awake to Antioch's struggles.

Forty conferences had representation when, at Marshall, Mich., the quadrennial of 1866 convened. This Convention was reported in metropolitan papers, and greetings were received from the governor. A business committee reported ten items of business for consideration, with resolutions to be offered concerning eight of them.

A Sunday-school paper, *The Sunday School Herald*, had been started in 1865, and its success was hailed with gratification.¹ Failure actually to launch the theological school project prompted this Convention to appoint a committee of nine, three from New England, three from the Central states and three from the West, to locate a Biblical school and raise an endowment. Before Convention adjourned this committee voted to locate the Biblical school in New York state; adopted a form of subscription blank; chose a committee really to establish the school; selected fifteen persons as its first board of trustees; and called upon each of the forty conferences represented in Convention to pledge one thousand dollars or the expense of a thorough conference canvass. Twenty-two conferences quickly responded guaranteeing expenses of canvass. The Christian Biblical Institute was really born at Marshall, Michigan. The most ambitious plan was for the Convention to organize a National Sunday-school Association, with auxiliary state associations—a plan that never matured, however.

To secure better organization the constitution of 1858 was

¹ *Star in the East*, published weekly by Rev. H. P. Gullford, Haverhill, Mass., had considerable circulation among the Christians.

revised, and henceforth the body became "The American Christian Convention." Various enterprises and denominational organizations were grouped in departments: missionary, educational, publishing, Sabbath-school and treasury; each department to be supervised by a secretary, and the secretaries to form an Executive Board for the Convention. This plan is still in operation and increasingly effective.¹

During this Marshall Convention two thousand five hundred dollars were raised for benevolent purposes. No session of the Convention ever took more important actions than that of 1866, which must stand out prominently in any true history of the Christians' movement.

Since about 1820 the Christians have been an international body. In token thereof the Convention of 1870 went to Oshawa, Canada, on the north shore of Lake Ontario. This was the twenty-third General Convention, and eleventh quadrennial convention of the Christians in America. A large number of delegates attended. It was voted to raise one hundred thousand dollars by apportionment for a church extension fund. The committee chosen in 1866 and empowered to establish the Christian Biblical Institute reported that school in its second year, with \$37,810.50 real estate, cash, bonds and notes, secured for endowment. Providing a first-class publishing house was regarded as perhaps the chief business before Convention. One hundred forty-nine ministers, thirty-six laymen, and thirty-seven laywomen were reported as members of this Convention. New departures were: a Board of Ministerial Education designed to help worthy persons to secure a theological training in Christian Biblical Institute or other approved schools, and the Christian Ministers' Life Assurance Association. Neither existed long or

¹The first executive board was composed of D. P. Pike, Massachusetts, President; N. Summerbell, Ohio, Secretary; L. Coffin, New York, Treasurer; D. E. Millard, Michigan, Secretary of Missions; J. W. Hale, Massachusetts, Secretary of Education; I. C. Goff, Illinois, Secretary of Publishing.

accomplished much.¹ The new plans launched were rather more than could be put into effect within a quadrennium.

An extra session was called at Troy, Ohio, June, 1872, at which provision was made for immediately incorporating the Convention (the action at Oshawa, Canada, not being legal), and a committee reported it practicable and desirable that The Christian Publishing Association and American Christian Convention should be united. A constitution was adopted for the "American Christian Church Extension Society," its object being to aid in "support of local and itinerant missionaries, and in building and redeeming houses of worship," a work now conducted by the Mission Department. General offerings for church extension and education were ordered.

DEDICATING THE BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

Peculiar interest attached to the quadrennial of 1874, because it was held at Stanfordville, N. Y., the new seat of Christian Biblical Institute, and Convention dedicated the new buildings, the munificent gift of Hon. David Clark, of Hartford, Conn. Great joy attended the occasion. Many people journeyed to the little village of Standfordville, lying beautifully hill-girt, a few miles northeast of Poughkeepsie, to see the new "school of the prophets," and to share in the common joy. Other matters, as usual, were carefully canvassed by Convention; *e. g.*, publishing interests occupied a large place. But chief interest centered around the dedicatory ceremonies of October 7, 1874. Across the entrance to the Institute grounds stretched a large banner with the word "Christian," and the porch, which served as speaker's stand, was decorated with flowers and autumn leaves. Before the building out of doors

¹ From October 14, 1870, to September 9, 1874, assessments and donations received by the Association amounted to \$1,136.50; and five death benefits were paid. The highest number of ministers paying assessments was 102.—See H. G. L., September 19, 1874. A month later the membership was reported as 171. Decline came during the next few years.

sat the audience, a considerable number of carriages and wagons being drawn up in a semi-circle round about and occupied as vantage points.

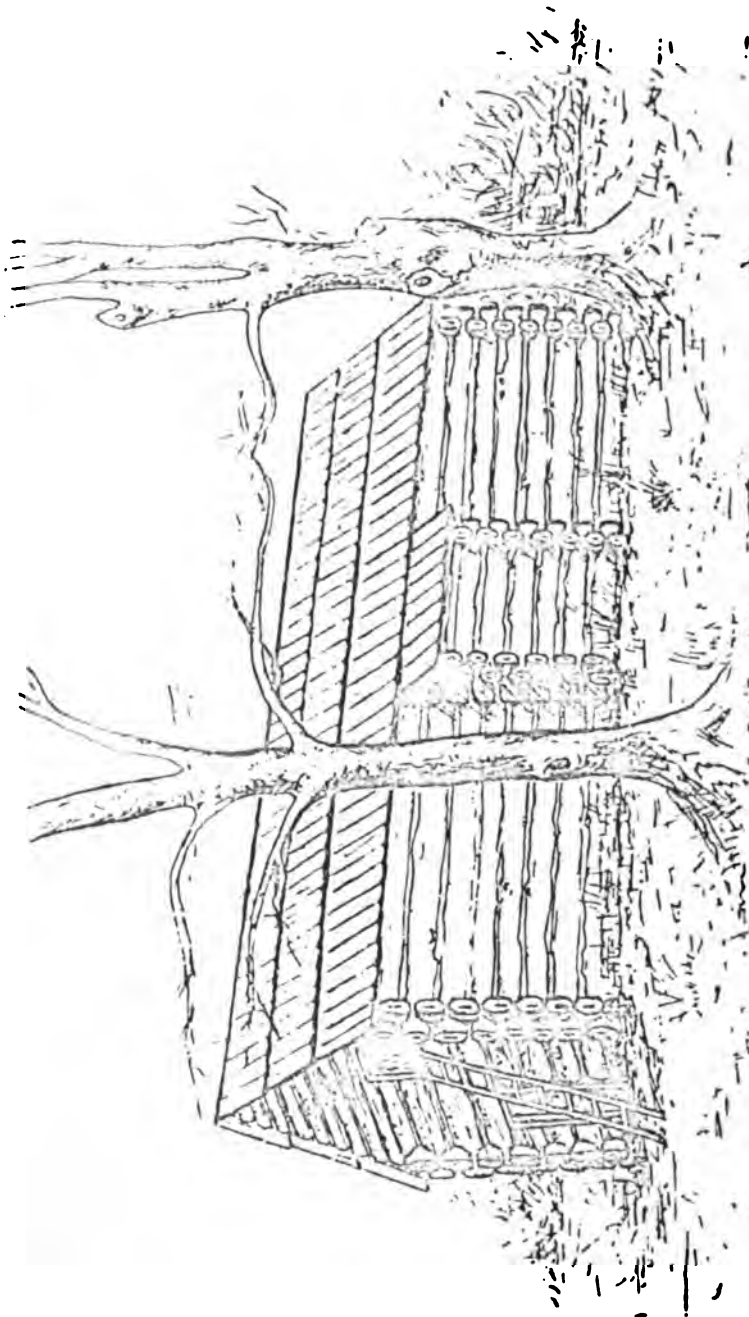
A principal part of the ceremony was an address by Mr. Clark, reminiscent of his life, awakened interest in theological students, introduction to the Christian Biblical Institute, and final accomplishment of his ideal. He formally presented to the Board of Trustees a gift deed and keys.

Rev. Isaac C. Goff, president of the Board, responded to Mr. Clark's address, receiving deed and keys. He recounted at length Rev. Simon Clough's proposal to Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., a Unitarian minister in Boston, that the two denominations should unite in founding a theological school in the Hudson valley; how Unitarians and Christians co-operated in 1843 and subsequently in establishing Meadville Theological School, and how Rev. David Millard held a professorship there; the effort of Rev. Oliver Barr to found a theological department in Antioch College; revival of the Biblical school question in 1856 to 1866; actual opening of that school in 1869; and the final location at Stanfordville, where Simon Clough's valuable library then reposed in the Institute's custody.

The dedicatory prayer was offered by Rev. B. S. Batchelor, of Massachusetts. Several addresses were made, and in answer to an appeal forty-six hundred dollars were subscribed for the Institute's benefit.

Publishing interests occupied much time at this Convention, the problem being how to subordinate those interests to the Convention itself.

Enthusiasm from previous quadrennials reached the session of 1878 at Franklin, Ohio. Large and representative delegations, both ministers and laymen, journeyed to that Ohio town on the Miami River south of Dayton. A novel feature of the program was a public conversation on "The Mutual Duties of the Ministry and Laity," between Hon. David Clark and Rev. Austin Craig. Hitherto attempts to



From "The Cane Ridge Meeting-House," by courtesy of the author, J. R. Rogers.

CANE RIDGE MEETING-HOUSE, CANE RIDGE, KY.

As it originally appeared. Built in 1791. The ladder gave admittance to the gallery. This building was the center of the famous Kentucky revival in 1801, and in it the Christian denomination in the West was organized in 1804. See p. 97.

gather Sunday-school statistics had not met with great success; and even now the Sunday-school Secretary could secure replies from only about four hundred twenty schools. However, he estimated the whole number of schools at about eight hundred, and their total membership at forty-one thousand—great advance over preceding periods.

The constitution was amended, creating a mission board of five persons, comprising the Department Secretary as president ex-officio, and four others elected by Convention. The Church Extension Society was merged in the mission department, and Secretaries Watson and Millard rendered encouraging reports.

The Christian Publishing Association had passed through great financial struggles, but conditions were reported better, with nine thousand dollars of debts paid. The Sunday-school Department was to have assistants from the various conferences, to help gather statistics and promote organization of schools. The Ministers' Life Assurance Association, organized at Oshawa in 1870, was re-organized and incorporated under Ohio laws in 1878, bearing a new charter name, "The Christian Relief Association," with headquarters at Troy, Ohio. Nothing worth mentioning came of that corporation.

Readers are reminded how the Convention's history illustrates an old truth concerning co-operation, and how the whole cause advanced as the Convention advanced. This central body initiated projects, calling the brotherhood to support them, and success was usually assured.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

There was a Southern Christian Association formed in 1847 embracing all southern conferences; but its scope and strength were not adequate for a growing cause. A stronger general organization was desired, especially consequent upon the division of 1854 at Cincinnati; for prevalent agitation and political turmoil accentuated need for closest fellowship. Hence the old Association was superseded in 1856 by a new

stronger fellowship bond called "General Convention of the Christian Church, South," organized at Union Chapel, Alamance County, N. C. Its cause grew almost magically. And then supervened an awful desolating Civil War. If northern conferences felt the drain, what must be said of the Southern Convention, on the scene of terrible struggles and bloody baptism, with conferences and churches prostrated and meetings suspended? Not until 1866 was the second convention session held at Mt. Auburn, Warren County, N. C. Dr. W. B. Wellons has left on record a vivid picture of that meeting, how people gathered and surveyed the ruin and prostration of all their work and enterprises. He said: "In the territory embraced by this Convention our prospects had been blasted, our hopes had perished, our labor and sacrifices were lost, and our comforts were gone. Our ability to rise from our prostrate condition was doubtful; the policy of those who defeated us was yet undeveloped, and the future was all uncertain. Oh! who can recall the feelings and exercises of his mind at that dark hour and not feel sadness creeping over him? Good men turned pale and looked one toward another for advice, which none felt competent to give.

"I remember well my own feelings—my own exercises of mind—and pardon me for referring to them. I looked first toward poor distracted Mexico, then hastily read the geography and history of Brazil, then thought of burying myself in New York or some one of the larger northern cities. But I, at last, determined to take all these conflicting feelings and thoughts and bind them in one confused bundle and lay them at the feet of Jesus. I earnestly besought the Father of Spirits to give direction. My mind became settled, my purposes became fixed. I resolved to come home and at once set to work to gather up the scattered fragments and preach Christ in adversity as I had preached Him in prosperity—to the inhabitants of the valley as I had to those upon the mountain top."¹

¹ See Minutes of 1866.

It was found that many staunch supporters of the cause had fallen in battle or died in hospital. The Georgia, Tennessee and Missouri Conferences were not represented. However, the Convention proceeded to business. They carefully defined the Christians' position and explained their mode of government, in "The Principles and Government of the Christian Church," which was published. That act is considered to have been of strategic importance.¹ Thus the Southern Convention officially did what other sections of the denomination sedulously avoided.

Attention was given to re-establishing the *Christian Sun* and replacing its printing plant; and an extraordinary session was voted to meet a year hence. Recovery of churches and the general cause went forward immediately and steadily with surprising rapidity. February, 1867, the *Sun* rose again and shone brightly, at Suffolk, Va. Rev. W. B. Wellons assumed financial responsibility, being allowed to use its name, until such time as Convention might again support and publish the periodical. A committee on finance was set to raise general funds.

When the Convention of 1870 met at Suffolk, Va., only three conferences were represented, two of them then having an aggregate membership of about six thousand members. Five conferences were not represented.² Fraternal delegates were present from New England. Home missions came prominently before this session, which earnestly discussed efficiency of churches and ministers, and extension of the denomination.

Resolutions on "Christian union" were adopted, in substance as follows: Appealing to all true Christians of all denominations to promote the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" conceding "exercise of private judgment and liberty of conscience in matters of religion," but seeing necessity of

¹ See Ap., p. 385. See Principles and Government of the Christian Church. Latest revised edition by Christian Board of Publication, Elon College, N. C., 1908.
² The Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee conferences had not recovered from the War's effects; and the Missouri churches were mostly affiliated with the Christian Union.

"certain" fundamental doctrines as objects of belief by all seeking church membership; affirming the opinion that then denominations had enough in common that they might realize "Christian union without abridging liberty of conscience."¹ Erection of a college was deemed impossible in 1870, but establishment of normal and theological schools was urged. Never was higher education lost sight of. The Board of Publication was ordered to consider establishing a publishing house in some city. A colored conference having been organized in 1867, in North Carolina, with a dozen ministers and a score of churches, the Convention pledged aid and encouragement to that and to any future colored conferences.

Forty-seven names of ministers appeared in the ministerial directory of conferences embraced in the Convention.

When next the Convention met, in 1874, at Graham, N. C., between eighty and ninety churches were embraced by the Convention, eighteen Sunday-schools, fifty-three elders, and fourteen licentiates. Measures adopted at previous sessions were re-affirmed.

Rev. W. B. Wellons, publisher of the *Christian Sun* and president of the Convention for twenty-one years, died in 1877, and his death was a distinct loss to the cause. Rev. J. T. Whitley presided over the Convention of 1878. A special session was ordered for 1879 to revise "The Principles and Government of the Christian Church," but no change was made. The South steadfastly adhered to "The Principles and Government," both to clarify its theological position and leave no doubt in outsiders' minds as to where they stand, and southern churches attribute their coherence and strength largely to this published declaration.

NEW ENGLAND CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

Another sectional organization with stirring history and more than local influence is the New England Christian Con-

¹ See Minutes of 1870.

vention, organized at Lynn, Mass., 1845,¹ continuously in existence since that date, supplemented by missionary and educational societies, and part of the time by a Sunday-school Association.²

In earlier years each auxiliary society had a separate officer. The first constitution had three articles, one stating the object of organization to be: "To bring together, once a year, all the public benevolent institutions established among the Christian churches in New England, provided their members and officers are disposed here to be represented; to transact other business, counsel together, devise plans to advance the interests of each benevolent object, and to establish such others as the good and advancement of pure Christianity may call for." This Convention has existed not only for sake of but through its benevolent societies.

At the time and place mentioned above, "The New England Christian Home and Foreign Missionary Society" was organized.³ Article II of its constitution reads as follows: "The sole object of this Society is to promote the glory of God and the salvation of men, by sending the Gospel to every creature; and for this end the Society shall collect funds, send ministers to the destitute, and aid feeble churches." Incorporation was secured in 1866.

Annual meetings of this Convention and Missionary Society were held in Boston, at Sea Street Christian Chapel for several years. Home missions absorbed attention and soon the Missionary Society's treasury had sufficient funds that support of home missionaries was undertaken. In 1848 the Sunday-school question was uppermost, and only forty schools were reported among New England churches. The Missionary Society had twenty life members and seventy-one paying mem-

¹ Hervey Sullings was first President; and Joseph Blackmar and E. Chadwick the first Secretaries. ² This Association was organized in 1855.—See Minutes of 1864. Also H. G. L., June 11, 1857. ³ A short time before a society of similar name had been organized in New Hampshire, but was discontinued in 1846 in favor of the larger organization.

bers. That year reports were had from two home missionaries, one in Maine, and one in Michigan.

The Convention went to Taunton, Mass., in 1851, and to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1853. At the latter place forty-five ministers and eighteen church delegates were present. New England then had eleven conferences, only four of which participated in the Convention. Those four reported one thousand four hundred thirty-seven Sunday-school pupils. This year the whole denomination turned its eyes toward Yellow Springs, Ohio, watching the Antioch College project, and New England was not behind in expression of interest. A strong vote of confidence in Antioch passed Convention. The impending national slavery struggle was already convulsing America, and New England Christians voted a stinging resolution aimed at all political measures likely to hinder complete emancipation of African slaves in America.

A growing emphasis on Sunday-school instruction led to another auxiliary society, the "New England Christian Sabbath School Association," organized during the Convention in New Bedford, Mass., May, 1855. The churches of that city took kindly to the Sunday-school idea, early had thriving schools, and their success undoubtedly spurred the Convention to action.

When the Convention met at Newburyport, Mass., in 1857, Antioch's financial crash had taken place and remedial measures were being devised East and West. New England was raising twenty-five thousand dollars for Antioch, and to make it immediately available voted to borrow whatever part of that sum might still be lacking. At the same time New England was rejoiced over its own New England Christian and Literary Institute, just organized at Andover, N. H.

Further development was exhibited by organization of the "Educational Society of the Denomination called Christians," in 1859, designed especially to assist "young men in getting an education who have in view the gospel ministry." The

Massachusetts legislature granted articles of incorporation in 1863, empowering the Society to hold property amounting to one hundred thousand dollars, for purposes specified. This Society still exists, and during all the intervening years has faithfully administered its trust.

Sessions of the Convention in the early sixties were keenly alive to national issues, and usually appointed a committee on the country's state or condition, to report to Convention. In 1864 a series of resolutions was adopted, among other things recognizing Abraham Lincoln as a providential man, thanking God for him and General Grant, and the dawn of peace. A year later joy was expressed for peace and freedom. That year also the Convention spoke in favor of "one well conducted and efficient newspaper," for retaining the name *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, and for consolidation of the Central Christian Book Association, New England Christian Publishing Association, and Western Christian Publishing Association.

When agitation was afoot looking toward establishment of a Biblical or theological school, the New England brethren, in 1864, voted themselves ready to co-operate in founding such a school in any suitable location, and appointed a committee on location and raising money, to confer with committees from New York conferences or from states farther west.

After the loss of Antioch College, the New England Christian Convention threw its support, financial and otherwise, to its own Andover Christian Institute, and to Union Christian College, ordering solicitation of funds for the latter also. But in 1865 the predominant thought was for the prospective Christian Biblical Institute, and it was voted to raise thirty thousand dollars for two professorships.

Likewise when the Convention met at Amesbury, in 1874, the Christian Biblical Institute was still an object of solicitous care; and that school, the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, and a "movement of the women of New England for impartial suffrage," were prominent themes. Missionary churches in

Amesbury, Mass., Manchester, N. H., and South Providence, R. I., were receiving financial aid, and tracts, magazines and newspapers." Thus was reached a maximum of organization.

A very modern idea appeared in Convention in 1867, when it was recommended that ministers should preach on "race suicide" and enlighten their respective congregations. At this time, moreover, religious circles were greatly exercised over the recent stand of Theodore Tilton, editor of the New York *Independent*, who had cut loose from sectarianism and proclaimed his independence. The Convention voted hearty approval of his course, and recommended to its constituency the *Independent*.

Since 1854 a proposed African Mission had been hanging fire, with funds slowly accumulating. At last, in 1875, the New England Missionary Society declared funds for that mission no part of its funds, referring the same to the Society's Executive Board. This practically ended that project. When the Academy was moved back to Andover from Wolfeboro, Convention voted money for erection of a boarding house, and still fostered the Academy.

This account brings us down to the time of fullest organization and activity in New England. New England was interested in almost every movement for denominational advancement, and also in current events and prevalent moral issues. Its voice was heard in denominational councils. Soon after the War, although the New England Convention had been exceedingly outspoken on slavery issues and the consequent War, it sent fraternal messengers to the Southern Convention, and invited a reciprocation by like courtesy, looking toward reunion of North and South.

PUBLISHING INTERESTS

Publishing associations had been narrowed down to three—one for each the East, West and South. In a former chapter elimination of papers was also detailed by which the *Herald*

of *Gospel Liberty*, *Christian Palladium* and *Gospel Herald* were running neck and neck for some far-off goal. Attention has been called also to a generally expressed wish for a representative denominational organ.

Meantime the *Palladium* absorbed a Canadian journal called *Christian Offering*, in 1859, and in 1860 another called *Christian Messenger*, owned by the Christian General Book Association; then the *Palladium* itself was sold to the Eastern Christian Publishing Association to be merged with its paper, in 1862, so that the omniverous *Herald of Gospel Liberty* was swallowing and assimilating its last hopeless competitors.

But The Christian Publishing Association, a western organization, was whetting its appetite. It was already publishing the *Gospel Herald*, and in 1861 acquired Browning & Buff's *Christian Banner*, an Indiana paper published at Indianapolis. Then in 1868 The Christian Publishing Association purchased its eastern competitor's paper, combining both *Herald of Gospel Liberty* and *Gospel Herald*, and down went the—latter, not the former, and Elias Smith's vigorous journal continued to live plumper and better groomed than ever. At last one general periodical was a fact, and joy was generally expressed. The surviving *Herald* had its home during this period at Newburyport, Mass., and Dayton, Ohio.

CHRISTIAN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

The Christian Publishing Association has had an interesting history and career. In 1850 it was supplying a news medium for all the western country, including Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri. Strong men were interested in the Association, which was a stock company, and strong men were editors of its organ, the *Gospel Herald*, issued weekly instead of semi-monthly, after 1853. Prior to 1865 its seat of business had been at New Carlisle, Springfield, Yellow Springs, and Eaton, Ohio, and that year it was moved to Dayton, and canvass was instituted for funds to provide a publishing establishment.

At a called meeting of the Association held November, 1866, at Covington, Ohio, the name "Christian Publishing Association" was assumed, as an appropriate expression of the denominational scope of the organization's work. A year later the Association sent an agent East to consult about purchasing the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, which purchase was effected, and that paper published from Dayton, January 4, 1868, and since.

That year a canvass for funds and conditions of the business made it possible to purchase property for a publishing house on the southeast corner of Main and Sixth Streets, in Dayton, eleven thousand five hundred dollars being paid therefor. Machinery and materials were gradually installed, and the house occupied late in 1872. Considerable indebtedness was contracted in fitting up the establishment, and caused embarrassment for a number of years. Provision had been made for printing all publications of the house, and also for a general job printing patronage.

This Association held its stated business meetings once in three years for some time, then once in two years, and finally, when the American Christian Convention met in New Bedford, Mass., in 1886, The Christian Publishing Association met there and amended its constitution so that membership of both bodies was identical, and all denominational publishing interests became actually a department of the Convention, as had been planned twenty years before at Marshall, Mich. In 1878, therefore, the Christians had, by a process of elimination and combination, a periodical which was both official and denominational, a publishing establishment which was issuing the official organ, Sunday-school publications, and a few others for denominational consumption.¹

¹ The Christian Publication Society was organized at Irvington, N. J., in October, 1856, holding an annual meeting at South Westerlo, N. Y., the next year. The Society did not live long.—Chris. Pall., Vol. XXVI, p. 125.

SOUTHERN PUBLISHING INTERESTS

Meantime the Southern Christian Association had published the *Christian Sun* continually, except during an interval from 1862 to 1866, when war stopped its issue. That Association changed its name to "Southern Christian Convention" in 1858. When the *Christian Sun* was revived after the War and published by W. B. Wellons, its name was still the Convention's property, and that body directed the publication more or less. After Dr. Wellons' death, his successor, as Convention president, also became publisher of the southern organ.

MANY JOURNALISTIC VENTURES

This historical period was prolific in journalistic ventures, especially in attempts to establish magazines; for it was felt that such were needed as mediums for discussion of themes that had no place in a religious newspaper. And we must record also several attempts to establish journals representative of limited sections of the large brotherhood.

In Canada the *Christian Offering* was begun by Rev. J. R. Hoag, in 1853, published at Oshawa, and edited by Mrs. P. A. Henry, and continued until its absorption by the *Christian Palladium* in 1859. It was designed to be the organ of the churches in Ontario Province. Six years after this Rev. Thomas Garbutt attempted to establish *The Christian Magazine*, a monthly journal, issued at Eddystone, Ont., in magazine form, thirty-six pages, six by nine inches. But the publisher received insufficient patronage, and was compelled to suspend his publication after a few years.

After the sale and consolidation of the New England paper with the western organ, the East still felt need of a paper there. In 1869 a pamphlet of thirty-six pages was issued monthly with the old name *The Christian Herald*, and was changed to a weekly publication in 1870, acquired by the Eastern Christian Publishing Association, located at Newburyport, Mass., and

edited by Rev. D. P. Pike, a veteran editor, theologian, writer and publisher. It was a quarto sheet, a religious newspaper to "meet local demands." After a few years it ceased, the burden of its publication being too great.¹

MAGAZINES

Turning to distinctly magazine work, we find several worthy ventures. Repeatedly demand was heard for religious and theological magazines of general scope. Rev. D. P. Pike issued twelve monthly numbers of *Christian Theology*, at Newburyport, Mass. It was a magazine of sixteen pages, four and a half by seven inches, printed by Morse, Brewster and Huse, 1855. Rev. A. G. Comings published at Boston, Mass., a few issues of *Jesus in His Offices*, a quarterly of limited range. A very promising forty-page monthly was issued at Cincinnati, 1869 and 1870, by Rev. N. Summerbell, called *The Christian Pulpit*, edited by himself and his son Rev. J. J. Summerbell. This was called the best religious monthly in America, and visited fifteen hundred subscribers in its second year. The Christian Publishing Association, after repeated solicitation, secured the magazine,² placed it under the joint editorship of Rev. T. C. Smith and Rev. S. S. Newhouse, and published a volume or two. Then it was discontinued. Rev. R. J. Wright, another scholarly man, essayed to print *The Friendly Christian*, "suitable for the pocket," with seventy-two pages, at Tacony, Pa., 1872.³

SUNDAY-SCHOOL PERIODICALS

In still a different field an exceedingly important publication was begun. Reference has hitherto been made to Sunday-school papers. Papers published in Haverhill and Boston, Mass., and by the United Brethren in Dayton, had been patronized by schools of the Christian denomination; but in 1865 the Western Christian Book Association began the *Sunday School*

¹ See Ap., p. 385.
p. 386.

² *Christian Pulpit*, January, 1873.

³ See Ap..

Herald, which has continued ever since, deservedly popular, excellently edited and printed, a medium for boys and girls themselves. Originally this paper was a folio, ten and one-half by fourteen inches, issued twice a month, illustrated, and edited by Rev. H. Y. Rush. In 1865 also the Association issued "Early Lessons About the Saviour," for pupils under twelve years of age, and in 1866 supplied a little manual of sixty-six pages, called "Primary Sunday School Question Book." These were forerunners of more popular and later lesson leaflets and quarterlies.

EDUCATIONAL MAGAZINE

An educational monthly¹ was begun in 1876 at Merom, Ind., of which Mrs. Drue Purviance Watson was editor, T. C. Smith, B. F. McHenry and J. J. Summerbell were associate editors, and L. F. Watson publisher. Issued during the college year, it was meant to represent all educational institutions of the Christians, each of which had a department. But its scope embraced also regular educational journalism. It was illustrated, mechanically excellent in appearance, and well edited; but did not live beyond two or three years.²

Readers should note how the awakened denominational consciousness sought expression; how it patterned in part after other denominations' enterprises; and in part struck out new paths; how leaders in the Christian denomination were thoroughly alive to and fully abreast of thought and methods and agencies then prevalent; how they were bidding for life, success and recognition, with as fair prospects as other denominations enjoyed. With more coherence and co-operation in those days, the Christians might have forged ahead and assumed a commanding position in American church life. And finally, it will be obvious to readers that the full awakening of denominational consciousness dates from the quadrennial session of 1850.

¹ Called "Our Work."

² See Ap., p. 386.

GROWTH AND EXPANSION

From 1850 to 1878 growth was both intensive and extensive. Territory already occupied was more thoroughly cultivated, new conferences being organized within territory previously traversed by missionary and evangelist. And yet one can observe the denominational borders being pushed farther outward—eastward, northward, westward. Readjustment of conference boundaries gave rise to new organizations in a few cases. All this growth may be best imagined by following conference organizations, as follows: In northwestern Ohio and southeastern Michigan; central Indiana, the old Central and Union conferences uniting; Southern New York; Indiana Miami Reserve; Little Wild Cat country in Indiana; Western Indiana, embracing old Cole Creek; Central Illinois; Aroostook branch of Maine Eastern; Passamaquoddy in Maine; Western Iowa, name later changed to Fort Des Moines Conference; Killbuck, in Indiana; Michigan State Conference; Michigan Association, embracing four conferences; Georgia and Alabama; Antioch, in Indiana; Fox River, covering contiguous territory in Indiana and Illinois; Western Illinois united with Spoon River, in 1864; Northern Iowa; Union, in Iowa; Otsego, in New York; Antioch, in Indiana, consolidated with Bluffton in 1865, later becoming Eastern Indiana; Rock Creek, Iowa, later Central Iowa; Grand River Valley in Michigan; Schoharie County, New York; Maumee Valley in northwestern Ohio, later combined with Auglaize, forming Northwestern Ohio; Southwestern Iowa; Union Christian, in Indiana; Southern Indiana and Illinois; Western North Carolina; Deep River country of North Carolina and Virginia, finally Western North Carolina Conference; New York State Christian Association; Ohio State Christian Association; Richland Union, in Wisconsin; Mazon River, in Illinois; Jacksonville, Illinois; Northeastern Iowa; Osage, in western Missouri; North Missouri; Western Pennsylvania; Northeastern Kansas; Kentucky, First

District; Kentucky, Second District, both readjustments of former organizations; Iowa State Conference; Northeastern Michigan; Grant County, Indiana; Northeastern Missouri; Monongahela Valley, Pennsylvania; Michigan Conference, incorporated to take the place of the State Conference and Michigan Christian Missionary and Aid Society; Nebraska; Eastern Kansas, first called Southeastern; Indiana State Conference; Southern Kansas. This is a rather astonishing array of names, and indicates that the Christians were doing something. Many of these names and organizations have long since been forgotten. The above list has been arranged chronologically, so far as confusion of dates will admit, that plan giving the better idea of where growth occurred and progress tended. "The Christian Almanac" for 1876 reported eighty-one conference organizations.¹ The next year names of twelve hundred and sixty ministers were printed in the Almanac, not including three hundred and eight licentiates,² or about fifty-three ministers and fourteen licentiates in the Southern Christian Convention. This gives a surprising total of over sixteen hundred preachers and ordained ministers.

The number of churches was estimated at nearly fifteen hundred. Estimates of men then conversant with denominational affairs allowed an average of one hundred members to a church—probably an impossible figure, as scores of churches were small and soon fell to pieces. A total membership of sixty-seven thousand was the estimate given in 1874.³

The two facts which speak best of denominational activity were the surprising multiplication of ministers and the continued wide-spread organization and reorganization of conferences. The more one ponders these facts and studies them, the more they will reveal to him.

¹ See Ap., p. 386.
H. G. L., June 6, 1874.

² See Ap., p. 386.

³ Article of A. H. Morrill, in

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER X

Minutes of the American Christian Convention, 1850-1878.

Minutes of the New England Christian Convention, 1850-1878.

Minutes of the Southern Christian Convention, 1866-1878.

Annual of the Christian Church (South), 1872-1878.

Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vols. LVIII-LXX.

Christian Palladium, Vols. XIX-XXX.

Gospel Herald, Vols. VII-XXV.

Christian Almanac, 1872-1878.

Christian Annual, 1897-1902.

History of the Christian Church, by N. Summerbell, D. D.

Lives of Christian Ministers, by P. J. Kernodle, M. A.

Not all the volumes in the files referred to have been accessible in preparation of this work, but most of them have.

CHAPTER XI

CHAPTER XI

EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORTS

1825-1877

SIXTEEN years after the Christian Church in Virginia was organized, and two years after the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* had been founded at Portsmouth, N. H., was formed the first missionary board in America. Elias Smith was thoroughly awake to missions, a theme then much talked of in New England where the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had been organized, and where the Massachusetts legislature had almost balked at granting that organization a charter. The *Herald of Gospel Liberty* was always replete with fresh missionary news; and years later, when other denominational periodicals were thriving, they too served their patrons with fresh and stirring missionary items and articles. A careful search of old denominational literature will leave one quite surprised that so much space was devoted to missionary enterprises.

There was also abundant missionary sentiment, with not a little genuine zeal abroad throughout the brotherhood. As evidence we find many pertinent references in communications printed in each periodical and magazine. In general and local conferences missionary work was frequently discussed, although in narrower phases. But most important of all, the Christians reckoned their cause missionary in its character, because it was carried chiefly among people not otherwise evangelized, many of them in newer, remote or sparsely settled states and territories and sections of them. Vermont was newly settled and crude when the Christians began to multiply there and to travel among new settlements springing up amid virgin forests. The same was true in Maine, Canada, western

New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana Territory, Michigan, Wisconsin, and the country farther west and south. Elias Smith stipulated, at his ordination, that he should be an itinerant evangelist, and others had the same understanding. Mark Fernald, Joseph Boody, Levi Hathaway, John Rand, Frederick Plummer were tireless in their missionary journeys, making incursions into Maine, Canada, the West and South, preaching daily if possible. In the south were men of like stamp and energy who journeyed northward into Pennsylvania, southward into South Carolina and Georgia, and westward into Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama. Such men were James O'Kelly, Rice Haggard, William Guirey,¹ William Lanphier, Mills Barrett, and John Gray. In fact, most of the early southern men traveled circuits like Methodist itinerants. B. W. Stone began his career as a circuit-rider. After the Kentucky revival he and David Purviance journeyed and preached much in the southern parts of Ohio and Indiana Territory, Stone extending his tours as far west as Missouri. Joseph Thomas, the famous "White Pilgrim," records in his journal almost incredible distances traveled on foot, on horseback or by carriage. Abraham Snethen, in Ohio and Indiana, constantly proceeded from place to place preaching, and he received home mission support part of the time. His autobiography is romantic with travel accounts. The record of Isaac N. Walter's missionary travels is quite remarkable. "On the 27th of January, 1855, he numbered his fiftieth year, thirty of which he had been an active, efficient minister, having traveled a sufficient number of miles to girdle the earth a little over six times; he had crossed the Alleghany Mountains fifty times; preached eight thousand two hundred and forty-three sermons; attended one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine funerals; baptized three thousand three hundred and ninety-two converts; received eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-one into church membership; prayed with one thousand

¹ Guirey had been a missionary in the West Indies.

nine hundred and seven sick persons; and married one thousand and fifty-two couples." ¹ Scores of other names could be added to this list. An "apostolic ministry" was a common ideal of those preachers, and hence their free services, arduous journeys, necessities, privations and persecutions. Missionary sentiment was no dream among the Christians, a proposition to be demonstrated in the following account.

During most of the eighty years covered by our history thus far there was missionary agitation in pulpit and press. Some editors wrote in favor of and urged home missionary work, and many a contributed article rang in the changes concerning the needs. Previously, and when he was agent for the New England Missionary Society, Elijah Shaw conducted a veritable missionary campaign.² No man has more persistently or persuasively urged his brethren to the task. And Shaw repeatedly outlined his systematic plan,³ which embodied features now familiar in most denominational missionary organizations. Scores of destitute sections in various states; the impecunious condition of traveling preachers; the fact that the itinerancy was playing out because ministers had to locate in order to secure a living; the hard lot of ministers' widows and orphans,—these and other reasons helped forward the creation of sentiment. For example, an eastern minister went to Michigan Territory to labor, and, touched with the destitution of tireless preachers already on the field, he wrote for publication appeals for aid for his needy brethren. In that Territory men were traveling circuits and preaching, often under exceedingly trying and health-destroying circumstances.⁴ Again, a minister who had labored in Michigan and removed to Cave County, Ill., after harrowing experiences and knowledge of the religious destitution in that section, issued a peculiarly touching appeal. People in older sections could no longer

¹ Memoir of Elder Isaac N. Walter, p. 387.
² Ibid., pp. 206, 211.

³ Shaw, p. 153 et al.
⁴ Chris. Pall., Vol. XIII, p. 163.

resist, and within a few years missionary societies sprang up in response.¹

It is easy to discount the results and value of those early home missionary efforts. They have often been lost sight of. Since the agencies have mostly disappeared, we might conclude that their works have disappeared also. That is not true, except in minor part: for scores of churches still existing and thriving, and numbers of conferences, scattered well over the eastern United States, are traceable directly to missionaries and societies of the fathers' days. They have a splendid missionary history yet to be written, thrilling in interest, intimately woven into the nation's development. It was a little past the middle of the Nineteenth Century before any serious attempt at foreign missions was made, and that word "foreign" awakened opposition then as now. Finally, no effective general missionary agency was created until 1878. Remember that many years passed before the Christians pretended to organize like other denominations, and then ensued a period when energy was largely absorbed with church building and controversy over sectarian, theological, and metaphysical subjects. Combatting error was deemed almost paramount to declaring the truth. An enormous amount of talent and time was expended in the religious warfare of those days, and the Christians spent their full share. Then, too, there was no central missionary organization.

EARLY ORGANIZED AGENCIES

Some mention should here be made of early missionary organizations.² The United States General Christian Conference, in 1825, recommended that all conferences create sustentation funds to support traveling evangelists; and about this time conference missionary societies began to be organized. Some of their constitutions and lists of subscribers are still

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. IX, p. 182; Vol. XIII, pp. 156, 175, 230, 231 and many other references. ² See Ap., p. 388.

extant. They seem like tiny rills, as compared with present-day missionary streams.

The earliest societies seem to have contemplated state-wide constituency and activity. The "Christian Register and Almanac" for 1842 gives the names of the oldest organizations, and some facts concerning them. For example, the Massachusetts Christian Benevolent Society dated from 1833,¹ and undertook to sustain an itinerant ministry for Massachusetts and the borders of Rhode Island.² At its organization a form of constitution for auxiliary local church societies was drafted and recommended. In 1834 preliminaries for a New Hampshire Christian Benevolent Society were attended to during a fall session of the Rockingham Conference; and about a year later the Society was organized and incorporated and still exists, intended to aid superannuates, widows and orphans, as well as active itinerants.³

But the societies were chiefly confederal in membership, with unrestricted field for operations. Dating from 1838 was the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Christian Benevolent Society. Within a few years similar societies were reported in Maine, in all New York conferences, in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, North Carolina and Vermont; but they all worked in America. Glowing reports of western missions were frequently published, and stimulated contributors to renewed efforts.

In 1845 it had been suggested that there should be a general mission board, state societies, conference societies, and local church auxiliaries.⁴ However, a general board did not become a reality until years later, but an attempt was made in some directions to work to the ideal. Conference societies (or conferences themselves) have more or less steadily supported missionary work within their bounds until the present; but when a general mission board began work, extra-confederal missions were gradually abandoned.

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. III, p. 116.
nald, pp. 257, 268. Shaw, p. 149.

² Chris. Her., Vol. XV, p. 195.
⁴ Chris. Pall., Vol. XIV, p. 120.

³ Fer-

Contemporaneously with the growth just explained came at least two sectional organizations embracing membership from several states. A new England Missionary Society was formed in 1840,¹ and the plan included conference and church auxiliaries. For some reason this Society was not satisfactory; and as appeals from the West continued, finally a call was issued for a general missionary meeting at Fall River, Mass., the direct outcome of which was the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Domestic Missionary Society, and indirectly two other important bodies.² The mass meeting recommended a New England Conference and a New England Missionary Society connected therewith. Later in the year 1845 the New England Christian Convention and New England Home and Foreign Missionary Society were formed in Lynn, Mass.³ They are incorporated bodies still in existence, and the Missionary Society has conducted much home missionary work. It displaced a similar New Hampshire society organized a few months before. For several years annual meetings were held with the Boston church. But latterly they have been held simultaneously with the New England Christian Convention. Some prominent churches of the denomination in New England owe their existence to help rendered by this organization, which has put funds not only into each New England state, but into several western ones also.

Another sectional society was the Southern Home Missionary Society, planned at the Convention of 1858, held at Cypress Chapel.⁴ The Southern Christian Convention had been organized in 1856, superseding the Southern Christian Association, and this Home Missionary Society was the first connected with the newly organized Convention. That Society's records are meager, and give little idea what enterprises were undertaken. Its scope was, generally speaking, all territory embraced by the Convention, with strong men of the body, like Mills Barrett,

¹ Shaw, p. 215.
pp. 354, 358, 366, 370.

² Chris. Pall., Vol. XIV, pp. 55, 91, 92.
⁴ Kernodle, pp. 89, 244.

³ Fernald,

Stephen S. Barrett, Alfred Iseley, Mills B. Barrett, and others, connected with it.

A third society, with a western membership, was the Ohio Missionary Society, organized in 1844, but doing work beyond its own boundaries. In 1849 three regular home missionary societies, the New England, New York Eastern, and Ohio, were said to be doing vigorous work, and sustained partly or in whole eleven missionaries in the field.¹

It must have been during this period of missionary awakening that the first woman's conference missionary society was organized. Some time prior to 1857 the Ladies' Auxiliary Home Missionary Society of the New York Western Christian Conference came into existence. In the year mentioned it was holding stated meetings and raising helpful sums of money.² Women's societies are also mentioned in correspondence of the time from Michigan.³

Some attempt was made to carry out plans for auxiliary societies in individual churches. A Home Missionary Society was organized in East Kensington, New Hampshire, in 1840, which was said to be fourth of its kind in that year.⁴ Five years later the church at Summer and Sea Streets in Boston organized a society with a membership of fifty. Proceedings of their meetings for several years are extant, from which it appears that the membership raised three hundred fifty dollars and fifty cents a year for missionary work. Fernald says they raised three hundred sixty-six dollars in ten months.⁵

A pioneer attempt at definite missionary work in Sunday-school was the Sabbath School Missionary Society in Suffolk Street church, New York City, which was born early in the year 1844, and soon had enrolled almost one hundred members. A constitution was framed, in which dues were placed at one cent a week per member. Money gathered was preferably spent in

¹Gos. Her., Vol. IV, p. 163.

²Chris. Pall., Vol. XXVI, p. 235.

³Cent. Book, p. 509.

⁴Chris. Pall., Vol. IX, p. 249.

⁵Ibid., Vol. XIV,

pp. 148, 149. Fernald, p. 358. Shaw, p. 242.

furnishing Sunday-school libraries to new and prospective schools in the west.¹

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Sunday-school also had a missionary society; and the Portsmouth church had the first Juvenile Missionary Society in the denomination, so far as is known.

We can trace, therefore, early organizations, district, state, conference, woman's auxiliary, local, Sunday-school and juvenile. This indicates an attempt to follow the proposed system. But effort and ideal centered about home fields, largely in the growing West. Methods were much like those of to-day. Each more inclusive society employed an agent to visit churches and fields within its bounds to strengthen the cause and gather funds. Elijah Shaw, mentioned before as a tireless agitator, did heroic service as field secretary in New England,² and perhaps gained rather more notoriety than others in similar positions.

Readers conversant with early records of the Christian General Book Association know that its purpose was distinctly evangelical and missionary. Part of the profits arising from the business were for several years devoted to support of home missionary pastors and evangelists in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana and Illinois.³ Half a dozen conferences had so profited in the year 1850, when ten missionaries were the Book Association's evangelistic agents.

MISSIONS IN THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

But in spite of all activity mentioned, a feeling of incompleteness was experienced. There was no coherence among societies, and a central or "general body" which some had plead for was still lacking. Efforts at church extension were, therefore, partly desultory, and interest dependent on local pastors or other parties, or local conditions coupled with appeals from

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. XIII, p. 197.
Chris. Pall., Vol. XXVI, p. 255.

² Shaw, p. 251 et al.
³ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 401.

Fernald, p. 358.

the needy. This leads us to another and interesting chapter, namely, missions in the American Christian Convention. When the denomination found itself, at Marion, New York, the need of a general missionary head or secretary and board was fully recognized. However, a committee to whom that matter was referred advised postponement of missionary organization in view of the Antioch College project, and need of all available money for that purpose. The quadrennial at Cincinnati in 1854 proceeded to elect a Board of Home and Foreign Missions,¹ which actually organized sixteen months later. A constitution was adopted and published. Still almost nothing further was done. Two more quadrenniums passed without effective missionary organization. At the quadrennial of 1866 at Marshall, Michigan, five departments were created, each with a secretary, to look after general denominational interests, one being the Missionary Department. Rev. D. E. Millard, of Michigan, was chosen Secretary of the Missionary Department, a position held by him until 1878. Gradually the board idea was lost sight of again. The special convention of 1872 adopted a plan for church extension, creating the American Christian Church Extension Society, with constitution and officers.² A president, corresponding secretary, treasurer and executive board were to administer that Society, and memberships were provided for conferences, churches, Sabbath schools and individuals.³ The first Sunday in January, 1873, all churches were asked to contribute toward a church extension fund. Considerable was done by Dr. Watson, and later reported. For fourteen months prior to September 1, 1873, the Extension Society had received \$3,135.38 for home mission purposes. Members resided in twelve states, and twelve missionaries had been in the field. Again report was made in 1878, showing thirty-six conference memberships and sixty-seven church memberships. In five years the funds

¹ H. G. L., March 27, 1856.

² See Report of that Convention, pp. 6-8.

³ Revs. I. H. Coe, J. P. Watson, Plowden Stevens, were respective officers, and Revs. T. M. McWhinney, P. McCullough, and H. Y. Rush executive board.

received amounted to \$8,059.00. Home mission aid had been extended to points in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Virginia, Nebraska and Kansas.

FOREIGN MISSIONS

At last the denomination had fairly entered upon a settled missionary policy perpetuated by an effective central organization. Dr. J. P. Watson had made it successful, and hence he is frequently called "father" of organized missionary work among the Christians. But still another missionary enterprise must be credited to him.

Back in the thirties and forties agitation for missions abroad had met with rebuff. A brilliant editor repeatedly assured his readers that the denomination was still young and not wealthy and could hardly handle its home work; and besides there were heathen enough at home.¹ Plenty of people dissented from such reasoning, but still they did nothing. Missionary-evangelists² of the Christians "out west" were said to be instructing Indians, and that came next to heathenism.³

When the African Colonization Society was carrying on operations, a colored man, Isaac Scott of Raleigh Christian Church, North Carolina, was ordained and sent to Liberia, West Africa. Scott sailed from Norfolk in 1852, settling at St. Paul's River, Monrovia.⁴ Another colored man, Seth A. Howell, of Newport News, Virginia, has more recently been ordained and gone to Liberia also.⁵ But Scott was probably the first foreign missionary from the denomination.

The Colonization Society served to bring Africa into prominence, and men of the New England Christian Convention turned longing eyes toward that continent as a mission field. At a session of the Convention in 1853, James Burlingame stood

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. VI, pp. 5, 105.
Chap. VII.

² Chris. Pall., Vol. VI, p. 5. Taylor,
"The Missionary and Indian," by Elder David
Millard.

⁴ H. G. L., June 8, 1853.

⁵ Kernodle, p. 128.

up and offered to be one of a hundred to raise one thousand dollars for supporting a foreign missionary. Eleven responded immediately, and a committee was chosen to raise the balance.¹ The proposal seemed to be heartily seconded, and funds accumulated. The Juvenile Missionary Society and Sunday School Missionary Society of the Portsmouth church at once pledged ten dollars each. For several years money was received. Rev. Thomas Holmes volunteered for service; but the one thousand dollar fund never was completed, and finally about 1875 the whole matter was dropped.

Nothing further was done in behalf of foreign missions until early in the eighties, when agitation was renewed.

¹ H. G. L., June 16, 1853.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER XI

Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vols. I-VIII.

Christian Herald, Vols. I-XVI.

Christian Palladium, Vols. I-XXX.

Gospel Herald, Vols. I-XXV; especially Vols. I-IV.

Memoir of Elder Elijah Shaw, by his Daughter.

Life of Elder Mark Fernald, written by himself.

Lives of Christian Ministers, by P. J. Kernodle, M. A.

Memoir of Elder Benjamin Taylor, by E. Edmunds. Geo. W. White, Boston, Mass. 1850.

Life and Writings of Nicholas Summerbell, edited by his son, J. J. Summerbell. Dayton, Ohio. 1900.

Centennial of Religious Journalism, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D.

Minutes of the American Christian Convention, and its predecessors, 1825-1878.

Minutes of the New England Christian Convention and the Southern Christian Convention, so far as they cover this period; also sundry printed minutes of various conferences, in the "Roberts Collection," belonging to The Christian Publishing Association.

CHAPTER XII

CHAPTER XII

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION—SECTIONAL CONVENTIONS— STATE CONFERENCES—COLORED CONFERENCES—STATISTICS¹

1878-1894

MANY were the interesting features and undertakings of this period; and records of various departments of work and organizations are so plethoric that brevity must be studied even in this outline. Institutions come now to monopolize attention.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

When the Convention assembled at Albany, New York, in 1882, there were momentous questions to be considered: condition of the Publishing Association's business; a growing missionary enterprise to provide for; need of changed organization; adequate means for raising money.

Nothing was done with the first subject, except to order it followed up to the succeeding quadrennial. Mission Secretary Watson made an exhaustive report about the missionary work, and a strong board was elected to forward missions. This is usually regarded as the Missionary Department's real organization, Dr. Watson being continued as Secretary.² How the New Bedford Convention, in 1886, assumed control of its home missionary enterprise, Franklinton Christian College, and formation of a Woman's Board for Foreign Missions will be matter for another chapter; the action relative to those subjects sufficed to render that Convention memorable. Four years later, in 1890, a Woman's Board for Home Missions was created, with organization similar to that of its sister body.

¹ Much of the matter for this chapter has been furnished by officers and men conversant with the facts. ² Revs. C. W. Garoutte, P. McCullough, O. T. Wyman and E. Mudge were directors.

Although plans were suggested supposed sufficiently to provide for finances, they were not adopted. Delegates from the Southern Convention being present and welcomed at Albany, delegates were chosen to visit that body representing the American Christian Convention.¹

Some questions were projected forward into the Convention of 1886, held in that famous whaling city, New Bedford, Massachusetts, when and where membership of the American Christian Convention and The Christian Publishing Association were made identical. Christian union was again mooted, on account of overtures for federation or co-operation by Free Will Baptists and Christians. The General Baptists of England sent greetings about the matter. Free Will Baptist representatives were present to explain their position. The "New York basis" was presented and discussed.² In the West meetings of Christian Union people and the Christians had been held to foster union, and a "basis and plan" had been drawn up which were submitted at New Bedford and approved. A committee to confer with corresponding committees from other bodies about union was elected. In 1890 actual union with the Christian Union people was reported existing in Ohio; but negotiations with Free Will Baptists in New York struck a snag and stopped when combination of educational institutions was reached. The end was not yet, however. At Haverhill "union" agitation was more pronounced than at preceding conventions. Correspondence had been carried on between the Standing Committee on Christian Union and representatives of the Congregational National Council. Rev. William Hayes Ward was present to speak for the Council. A lengthy committee report finally recommended a co-operative union between the two denominations, which should not affect the standing of either denomination's institutions.³ This action entailed much subsequent discussion and bitterness.

¹ See Report of Albany Convention. G. L., November 22, 1894.

² See Convention Report.

³ H.

During this period, at the Convention of 1890, without legislation or formality, delegates from the South took their places in Convention and participated in business, then reuniting the sections which had been cleft in twain since 1854.

In 1890 a very ambitious plan was broached and adopted, recommending observance of the centenary anniversary of the Christian Church on the second Sunday in January, 1894, and gathering of funds upon that day toward founding a "Christian University," for which half a million to two million dollars would be needed. The sequel to this action is quickly told—nothing done.

The same year the Convention protested against Sunday opening of the World's Fair in Chicago, 1893.

One significant indication of development was addition of a new department, called Department of Christian Endeavor, in 1894, with Rev. G. A. Conibear, of New England, as Secretary.¹ Readers of these pages hardly need to be told the phenomenal history of Christian Endeavor, but a few facts will help to connect Christian Endeavor and the Christian Church. Rev. Francis E. Clark was pastor of Williston Congregational Church, Portland, Maine, which was composed very largely of young people. To conserve revival results which brought a considerable number of young men and women into his church during the week of prayer and subsequently, in 1881, the pastor conceived the Endeavor idea and drafted the pledge and constitution which have since become world-famous, but were first adopted by the Williston Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor on a bitter cold February afternoon the year mentioned. More than eight months passed before a second society was organized, in October, in North Congregational Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts. The third was in the Christian Church of Scituate (Rockland), Rhode Island. Within a few years Christian Endeavor was firmly planted in

¹ The Cralgville Christian Endeavor Summer Union had petitioned the Convention of 1894 to elect such a Secretary.—H. G. L., November 22, 1894.

churches in Canada, New England, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and farther west. Several conferences had Endeavor departments; the New England Convention created such a department in 1892; and that year weekly space was devoted, in the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, to Endeavor work and devotional topics. Denominational rallies were held during the International Conventions of 1892, 1893, and 1894. Secretary Conibear vigorously pushed the young people's work, and met with splendid response. And now, in 1894, the American Christian Convention formally recognized the new accession to Christian agencies by creating a Department of Christian Endeavor, just as the denomination was turning its hundredth milestone, and following the great International Christian Endeavor Convention at Cleveland. Dr. Bishop, Mission Secretary, reported that Endeavors had contributed more than one thousand dollars for foreign missions.

NEW ENGLAND CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

This body has steadily adhered to business since its organization, but reached its maximum growth and activity before 1880. In later years many older men have passed away, a good many churches have suffered desolation by rural depopulation, or by shifting of population and change of its character. Other causes have contributed to a decline, and transferring the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* to its western home has probably had some effect upon the situation.

Home mission churches have been fostered in Bangor, Maine; Manchester, New Hampshire; Spruce Street and Bonney Street, New Bedford; and Fall River, Massachusetts. The Educational Society has contributed annually for student support and for maintenance of the Christian Biblical Institute. In the early eighties effort was still being made to endow a professorship.

Naturally the New England Convention led in adopting Christian Endeavor and setting it to work. During the Con-

vention of 1892, at Randolph, Vermont, a Christian Endeavor Department was created, and ever since New England Endeavorers have contributed largely to supporting a woman missionary in Japan.¹

An institution exerting considerable influence on the denomination in New England owes its existence partly to the New England Christian Convention. Rev. J. A. Perry, of Providence, Rhode Island, and brothers Horatio N. and Frederick A., had acquired a tract of land about 1872, in Barnstable County, on Cape Cod, fronting on the south shore. At a meeting of the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Christian Ministerial Association, held in First Church, New Bedford, in April, 1872, they proposed donating a certain parcel of land near the village of Hyannis, to be used for an annual camp-meeting. A committee visited the locality and reported to the New England Convention in June. Whereupon Convention approved the idea, and then appointed a committee to arrange for such meeting, and form a Camp Meeting Association in accordance with Massachusetts statutes.

Meantime a few cottages were built among the pines on the location selected, while a large tent was pitched on an eminence near by. Meetings actually began in August, 1872, lasting ten days, with seventy-two Christian ministers present. Several conversions and baptisms resulted. Forty-four tents and cottages were erected the first season. After surveying and platting the grounds, the Association offered free lots to New England churches willing to build thereon, and sixteen churches committed themselves to building. The trustees held their first annual meeting during the first campmeeting.²

Rev. Mr. Perry and his brothers made large outlay for the initial meeting. They were reimbursed, a title deed was passed, and a tabernacle sixty by eighty feet, covered with

¹ Miss Christine Penrod was so supported for years, and now Miss Alice True has similar backing. ² President, Rev. William Miller; Vice-President, Rev. S. Wright Butler; Secretary, Rev. C. A. Tillinghast; Treasurer, Rev. B. S. Batchelor.

canvas, was erected, a post-office and hotel being added the second season.

In 1878 more land was purchased, practically covering the present beautiful grounds, reaching shoreward to the high bluff overlooking the bay and ocean beyond. Not till 1889 was the beach purchased. That addition made possible a perfect summer abode and place of assembly. In honor of Rev. Austin Craig, the place was called "Craigville."

In 1886 the matter of a new tabernacle was discussed, and finally the present ample structure was built at a cost of twenty-two hundred dollars. It has asphalt floor, a large platform, and seating capacity of about eight hundred. Circumstances rendered it advisable for the Association to own a hotel, and Central Park Cottage was purchased of C. M. Gustin, several times enlarged and improved, and re-named "Craigville Inn."

In early days ministers of the denomination from outside New England used to flock to Craigville with their New England brethren. Many laymen were accustomed to spend a week there for campmeeting; but latterly all New England has become one great summer resort, attracting people to nearer camps, and Craigville wears the aspect of a summer watering place. That Craigville has played a large part in denominational history is evidenced by a membership record of more than seven hundred fifty names of people East, North and West.¹

The summer camp to-day is delightful. Starting behind the tabernacle amongst pines at the north, one finds a pumping station for the water system; then the large tabernacle; then he walks down toward Central Park over which "Old Glory" waves aloft. On either side is a street flanked with tidy cottages, a wee little post-office at the right. Across the south end of the park is Chequaquet Inn; passing around which one can walk down an avenue beside a lake studded with lily pads,

¹ This sketch was prepared from the Camp Meeting Association Records.

or follow a thoroughfare over an eminence to the bluff. Standing there one sees old ocean, glimmering in the sun, its waters ceaselessly laving the beach. Then crossing the broad cranberry bog on a board walk, you don your bathing suit and plunge into salt water. Expensive summer cottages are springing up all around. Craigville is not what it was, and may never again be; but more beautiful and more healthful.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

Home missions and education have been leading themes with this Convention. Several strong churches were planted, by Convention aid, between 1878 and 1894, as follows: in Newport News, Greensboro, Virginia Valley, Georgia and Alabama. Noteworthy co-operation has been exhibited in such work, and a body much weakened by the desolations of war has won wide recognition for its sacrificing perennial effort. One home mission undertaking demands attention by itself. The Convention of 1890 approved an effort to organize a memorial church at Norfolk, Virginia, under direction of the Eastern Virginia Conference, with Rev. C. J. Jones as minister, to commemorate reunion of the Christians, North and South. In 1894 Memorial Temple was dedicated amid rejoicing. Dr. Jones was followed in the pastorate by Rev. J. P. Barrett, under whose labors Memorial Temple became the leading missionary church in the denomination, holding that distinction for many years.

Elon College is a splendid commentary on the pluck and energy with which the Convention has consistently aided its child through every vicissitude. And maintenance of the *Christian Sun* has been no less hearty and consistent. A denominational college for the South was projected in 1882; but Rev. D. A. Long's call to Antioch deferred that undertaking six years. However, Elon College threw open its chapel for Convention use in 1892, and then the southern brethren inspect-

ed with joy and pride the real institution that so many years lay in their dreams.

In 1886 the Southern Convention elected a Board of Control, looking toward foreign missionary work. When, however, the American Christian Convention met and voted to begin missionary work in Japan, and when Rev. and Mrs. D. F. Jones, of North Carolina, volunteered for the Japan field, the Southern Convention co-operated with the general body and has since regularly contributed toward denominational foreign missions. In 1892 a Christian Missionary Association was organized, that for years wrought successfully, but is now displaced by smaller conference associations.

Again we reach the centennial year 1894, and find the Southern Convention assembled in Memorial Christian Temple, at Norfolk, Virginia, together with the Executive Board of the American Christian Convention, present by invitation, and other northern visitors. On Sunday the Temple, which had been erected as a memorial to re-established fellowship, was dedicated. North and South rejoiced, and those Sabbath observances became a valued historical monument in the Southern Convention's existence.

STATE CONFERENCES

Perhaps the last and logical step in organizing the denomination at large was begun and completed in those larger associations called state conferences or state associations, the first of which dates from about the close of the Civil War.¹ The Southern Christian Convention, and the New England Christian Convention, had been in existence for many years and performed excellent offices for the cause in their respective territories. In large western states, where many conferences had been instituted in each state, there was felt a need of some

¹ State conferences existed in earlier times, but with a little different organization and purpose. The "Vermont State Conference" was in existence in 1823; the New Hampshire Conference still met after its three county conferences were organized. General Conference spoke of "State Conferences."

unifying bond, or perhaps it were better to say some larger supervisory agency to further common interests.

Representatives of various sections of Ohio met at Columbus in May, 1866, and formed the Ohio State Christian Association, with a declaration of principles, constitution and by-laws. The said declaration may be here quoted as a fair indication of the denomination's general position so far as that has been committed to writing and printer's ink.

"1. We would re-affirm the principles avowed by our fathers, that the Bible, being the revealed will of God, should therefore be accepted as the only infallible guide in the formation and direction of our religious faith and practice.

"2. As a church we allow and vindicate the right of individual judgment in the interpretation of the Bible; and hence a Christian spirit, and Christian life are our only tests of Christian fellowship.

"3. We accept no name but that of 'Christian.' In this, however, we do not arrogate that title to ourselves alone or specially, but cheerfully accord an equal claim to it to all who bear the Christian spirit. Yet, as a distinct organization we wish to ignore any and every name which has in its very enunciation the semblance of narrowness and exclusiveness."

The stated purpose of the Association embodies in a general way objects sought by all similar bodies in the denomination, and may be quoted as a sample. It is to "effectually carry forward missionary work, promote Sunday-school interests, build up and enlarge our educational and publishing interests, and provide for the wants of our superannuated ministers, and widows of ministers who have died in the work." Not all associations attempt sustentation of aged ministers and their widows; but all have a distinctly missionary outlook, and foster general denominational interests. The Ohio Association provided five departments with supervising secretaries, and the first general officers were: Rev. H. K. McConnell, President; Rev. J. B. Weston, Secretary; Rev. T. M. McWhinney, Treas-

urer. Actual work through all the years following has suggested some constitutional changes, chiefly by way of enlarging the scope of activity, and incorporation in 1891 gave the Association legal standing. From first to last this Association has handled considerable money, has been a liberal benefactor of churches in Springfield, Columbus, and other places, has given liberally toward support of Antioch College, and made the first large gift toward endowing Defiance College. On the records appear many names of leading men among the Christians in Ohio.

A few months after the Ohio State Christian Association was formed, a meeting of interested persons from various parts of New York state met at Newark, and organized the New York State Christian Association, on practically the basis detailed above. This body meets biennially. Like each of the state associations it has had a school within its bounds to support, and has from the inception of that institution fostered Christian Biblical Institute. Home missionary enterprises have received assistance in New York City, Brooklyn, Albany, St. Johnsville, Binghamton, and Erie, Pa., and weak churches have not been forgotten. The Sunday-school Department has credit for securing the general observance of Children's Day in New York conferences and churches.

The Iowa State Christian Conference dates its life from the year 1872, when organization was effected in that state. As in sister bodies, general interests are committed to department heads of which there are four. Trustees for Palmer College (formerly known as Le Grand Christian College) are elected by the Conference, and hence that body is directly concerned with the College's management and success. Home mission enterprises have been aided.

Agitation for a state organization in Indiana was begun in the summer of 1876 by Rev. D. W. Jones, who was publishing a magazine called *The Christian Age*, devoted to the interests of Indiana churches. He sent a circular letter to leading

churches, and in response to his appeal a meeting of interested parties was convened in July, 1877, in the city of Marion, presided over by Rev. D. W. Fowler. Missionary activity among the churches of the state, assistance for educational institutions, co-operation in local and denominational work, church extension, and raising the standard of the ministry have demanded attention of the Conference for more than thirty years. Union Christian College has benefitted largely by its good offices, and mutual helpfulness between local conferences is attributed to good work done by the State Conference. Perhaps, also, multiplication of missionary societies should be attributed largely to constant urging from the state organization. The constitution requires that a certain sum of money shall be applied to church extension projects.

The Kansas State Christian Conference was organized at Madison, Greenwood County, in November, 1881, in a meeting called for that purpose, attended by twelve ministers. Appropriate constitution and by-laws were there adopted, and a charter was later secured. Rev. W. K. Stamp was chosen President, and Rev. E. Cameron, Secretary, the latter serving in that office for twenty years. Rev. Isaac Mooney was President for sixteen years. These men have witnessed great development in the churches and the country. At the second Conference session Rev. Thomas Bartlett brought forward plans for founding a college, which were discussed, and before adjournment Conference authorized its trustees to proceed to found a college. Kansas Christian College is, therefore, child of the State Conference, and the Conference trustees were also made trustees of the College. Almost all the ministers of the denomination in Kansas have figured in the State Conference.

In a meeting held for the purpose at Atwood, in October, 1883, the Illinois State Christian Conference was called into being, the moving spirits in the cause being Revs. J. A. Clapp, J. L. Towner, G. W. Rippey, and Robert Harris, the last

named being chosen President of the Conference, and Rev. J. E. Amos, Secretary. A large and enthusiastic gathering was this preliminary meeting. A constitution was adopted one year later, and a committee appointed to secure a charter. The work contemplated was included under the heads of education, publishing, temperance, statistics, Sunday-schools, and finances, and the Conference has laid great stress on missionary work in more recent years. Home mission churches have been planted largely by Conference aid at Danville, Atwood, Olney, Tuscola, and other points. The Conference has at different times put a state evangelist in the field to establish and strengthen churches. As Union Christian College is separated from Illinois only by the Wabash River, it is clear that the College has found a large constituency in Illinois, and drawn much of its support from that state. In return it has trained many ministers and laymen for the Christians in Illinois.

In a previous chapter has been recorded the decimation of the Christians in Kentucky by defection of thousands to the Disciples in the years following the famous "union" in which Barton W. Stone figured so prominently. After the Christians had recovered somewhat, the Big Sandy Conference occupied the southeastern part of the state and included some churches in contiguous parts of Virginia. The Kentucky Christian Conference covered more westerly portions of the state. The distance between sections was great, and travel from one conference to the other was difficult. Accordingly members of both conferences met at Concord Church, in Elliott County, near the center of the state, and late in August, 1871, formed the Middle Kentucky Christian Conference, otherwise known as Union Kentucky Christian Conference. Revs. A. J. Goodman, Epison Syesmore and Robert Gee, of the Big Sandy, and Revs. John Offill, Johnson Offill, Basil James, Daniel Humphreys, William Click, John A. Campbell, and James P. White, of the Kentucky Conference participated in

the new organization. Churches reported to one conference or another according to their convenience. The new conference increased quite rapidly. After the Kentucky Christian Conference obtained a charter in 1878, it was thought desirable that the others should share in the benefits of incorporation, and a proposal was made that one conference should be formed, subdivided into districts. At King's Chapel, late in October, 1890, the State Kentucky Christian Conference was organized, the aged George W. Mefford, of Ohio, presiding. Rev. J. P. Sulzer was made President, and Rev. Robert Gee, Secretary. Then the territory was parted into District No. 1 and District No. 2, each holding its annual gathering as the local conferences had been wont to do.

All these state organizations have continued to the present day, performing their functions with what regularity and force they could command. They have exerted a good influence by gathering church members and ministers into larger units, by bridging gaps between conferences, by fostering church extension and all general denominational enterprises. Most of them have supported a school or college, and probably no feature of their effort has been more productive of good. Enabled by charter to handle and raise money in sums beyond what local conferences could command as a rule, they have added very materially to the permanency and institutional life of the denomination.

State conferences or associations are composed of members ex-officio and delegated. Certain officers of local conferences are, by virtue of their office, members of the state body; and the local body may choose at its annual gatherings other representatives, the ratio of representation being fixed by state conference law.

The Woman's Board for Home Missions and the Woman's Board for Foreign Missions have state organizations auxiliary to the state conferences, as they also have auxiliaries to the local conferences.

COLORED CONFERENCES

Following the War churches began to be formed, according to the polity and usage of the Christian denomination, for colored people in the South. Their early records are mostly gone, but a few facts have been preserved.

In 1867, under guidance of the North Carolina Conference, a conference of colored people was organized and named "Western Colored Christian Conference," (now called North Carolina Christian Conference), composed of about twelve ministers and fifteen to twenty churches, Rev. William Hayes, President. The North Carolina Conference was commended for its course by the Southern Christian Convention in 1870, and other white conferences advised to follow the example.¹

In 1873 the Eastern Virginia Colored Christian Conference was organized, Rev. Justin Copeland, President. A little later, in 1888, the Eastern Atlantic Christian Conference of North Carolina was formed.

A year later the Western Conference reported twenty-three ministers and about thirty-five churches, eight churches having also been dismissed to the Eastern Conference. In November, 1875, Rev. William Hazel was deputed to organize a Colored Christian Conference in Tennessee. Further record is lacking.

The Eastern Conference reported in 1874 eleven ministers and seven churches, and two new churches were received at that session. The Virginia Conference reported seven ministers and seven churches, one new one having been received that year. Increase of churches continued, until there were five conferences in 1896: North Carolina, Eastern Virginia, Eastern Atlantic (replacing the Eastern North Carolina), Cape Fear (not now in existence), and Georgia and Alabama, the last formed in 1887. The full membership was about 6,000.

¹ See Report of Southern Christian Convention for 1870.

The latest is Lincoln Conference in North Carolina, formed by a division of the North Carolina Conference in 1910.

The colored conferences have paralleled work done by white conferences. Franklinton Christian College has received their support, and a principal's residence was erected by them (which was destroyed by fire a few years ago). They have promoted Sunday-school work, home missions, and moral reform.

At Watson Tabernacle, New Berne, North Carolina, in May, 1892, the Afro-Christian Convention was organized, consisting of delegates from all colored conferences named. This larger organization has but begun to make itself felt.

In more recent years two colored conferences have grown rapidly and become strong—the North Carolina and Eastern Virginia.

Franklinton Christian College has contributed largely to the culture and advancement of the colored ministry and church workers. Its graduates are now holding responsible positions in both churches and communities where they live.

DENOMINATIONAL GROWTH

During this period a few new conferences were organized, indicating where new churches had multiplied.¹ As in previous periods there was also re-formation of conferences. Tippecanoe Conference in Indiana became Northwestern Indiana; Northern Kansas; Spring River, including churches in both Kansas and Missouri; Western Michigan and Northern Illinois, successor to Southern Michigan and Northern Indiana; Kansas State Conference; Illinois State Conference; Bible Union, in Indiana; Southern Pennsylvania; Kentucky State Conference; Eastern Atlantic (colored); Southwestern West Virginia; Northwestern Arkansas; Western Arkansas; North Carolina and Virginia; Western North Carolina, and Eastern North Carolina, formed by partition of the united North

¹ See Ap., p. 389.

Carolina and Virginia and Deep River Conferences; Western Washington. Most of the growth was, therefore, in western and southern states.

The "Year Book" for 1892 placed the denominational membership at 118,229. There had been steady growth, membership of individual churches increasing rather faster than territorial expansion.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER XII

- Minutes of the American Christian Convention, 1878-1894.
- Minutes of the New England Christian Convention, 1878-1894.
- Minutes of the Southern Christian Convention, 1878-1894.
- Annual of the Christian Church (South), 1878-1894.
- Records of the Various State Conferences, 1866-1894.
- Minutes of the Colored Christian Conferences, odd volumes.
- Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vols. LXX-XCVI.
- Records of the Christian Camp Meeting Association.

CHAPTER XIII

CHAPTER XIII

CONTINUED COLLEGE BUILDING—ORGANIZED MISSIONS

1878-1894

RETROSPECT OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS

1794-1894

READERS who perused carefully the foregoing chapters have found much interesting history centering about the attempts to found schools and colleges; and could we but delve beneath the superficial aspects, we would find tragedy lurking where least expected. Perhaps it is better that the public knows not of the tragic events attending those early struggles. We now resume the denominational educational history.

SUFFOLK COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE¹

To retrace a few steps: when the Southern Christian Convention met in Suffolk, Va., in 1870, the Committee on Schools and Colleges, Rev. John N. Manning, Chairman, recommended the establishment of normal and theological schools within the several conferences. Out of this recommendation grew Suffolk Collegiate Institute. Chairman Manning became soliciting agent for the proposed Institute of the Eastern Virginia Conference, and the state legislature passed, in March, 1874, "An Act to Incorporate the Suffolk Collegiate Institute."

However, school opened in January, 1872, and the institution prospered beyond expectations, more than one hundred pupils being enrolled within a year or two. Rev. W. B. Wellons was elected as principal, and was succeeded, at his death, by Rev. C. A. Apple. For two and a half years

¹ Matter for this sketch was kindly furnished by Prof. P. J. Kernodle, M. A.

Joseph King was principal, followed in the year 1878 by P. J. Kernodle.

Early in the eighties the school buildings had been greatly enlarged and improved, and the success attending the Institute thus far gave much hope for a bright future. The Southern Christian Convention established a theological department there in 1886, with Rev. W. W. Staley as instructor; a venture which seemed amply justified. Thus matters continued until the opening of Elon College in 1890, when the denomination's strength was thrown behind the College, and the Institute gave way to this new child of the Convention. But there was a high school maintained in the old Institute buildings in Suffolk, until they were burned in 1892.

As Holy Neck Female Seminary was supplanted by Suffolk Collegiate Institute before the War, so the Institute was now supplanted by Elon College.

KANSAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

The second session of the Kansas State Christian Conference was held at Bethany church, in Franklin County, in the fall of 1882, usual business being transacted. But at that time a larger undertaking came to the front, when Rev. Thomas Bartlett offered a plan for founding a denominational college in Kansas. The plan met with favor, was adopted,¹ and the State Conference trustees became trustees of the college to be. A year later, at Towanda, Rev. Mr. Bartlett was chosen President of the College, Rev. E. Cameron, Secretary, and Rev. George Tenney professor of Biblical literature and moral science.

The trustees were authorized to locate and build a college in central Kansas. Opportunity was given for towns to bid for the location, it being understood that the town selected must erect a building to cost not less than \$10,000, the State Conference raising an equal amount for endowment. Lincoln

¹ Rev. Henry Cole made the motion to found the college.

was the successful bidder. A fairly strong church already existed there; three or four Christian ministers lived there; and the place was centrally located. Lincoln is a county seat, with over two thousand people now, but a few hundred then, a little north of the center of Kansas, elevated and healthful. On January 31, 1884, a committee was chosen to contract with the town's building committee, to select site and secure plans for building.

In the spring of 1885 a preparatory school was opened, under Rev. Mr. Tenney's direction. By fall President Bartlett had moved to Lincoln and assumed charge of the school, being assisted by Mr. Tenney and Mrs. Bartlett. The town rented school rooms during the years 1885-1887, and then the new building, made of materials dug from local stone quarries, was sufficiently completed to allow of occupancy. The cornerstone had been laid in 1885.

Lincoln failed to fulfill its part of the contract, and deeded the unfinished building to the State Conference encumbered with debt. President Bartlett, Acting-President Cameron, and later President O. B. Whitaker, all struggled with the handicap, until the debt was finally cancelled.

Rev. Thomas Bartlett was an eastern man, of good education, who had many years' experience in the east in the pulpit and in teaching. For several years he was Principal of Andover, New Hampshire, Christian Institute, (afterwards removed to Wolfeboro, and then again located at Andover as Proctor Academy,) where he had achieved commendable success, though handicapped because of limited funds, fitting several students for Dartmouth College, some of whom have become strong men in their chosen professions. From Andover he went to a professorship in Union Christian College, Merom, Ind., but did not remain there long. Then he went to Kansas and engaged in preaching. His pulpit work was of high type, strong, logical, spiritual, and his Christian character beautiful,

ethereal, perhaps heightened by declining health. In August, 1891, he relinquished his post, and died a little later.

Rev. E. Cameron acted as President for two years, until Rev. O. B. Whitaker went to fill the vacancy in 1893. Dr. Whitaker held his post thirteen years, and during that time raised a large sum of money, considerable being contributed from his private means. He had the satisfaction of putting the building in good order, and of seeing students assemble in large numbers.

CHRISTIAN CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE

Recognizing the limitations of many ministers whose circumstances forbade their attending a theological school, the quadrennial session of the American Christian Convention of 1886 approved "establishment of a correspondence school under the care of the president and faculty of Antioch College." Preliminary announcement of Christian Correspondence College appeared in 1888, and the following year, with headquarters at Standfordville, N. Y., the College announced its faculty and curriculum. A Board of Control was elected, consisting of Rev. Martyn Summerbell, President, Rev. E. A. DeVore, Secretary, five college presidents and three other ministers. Courses in theology and kindred topics were offered that year. The school has continued, with some interruption, until the present time. Perhaps need for it grows less as other opportunities multiply. The registration has been nearly thirty during some years.

VALE, ANTIOCH

Their last attempt to control Antioch College was made by the Christians in 1882 and following years, ending about the close of President Long's incumbency. In 1882 a Christian Educational Society was formed to operate and finance the school. Suspension of college work for an indefinite period had been announced at the commencement in June, 1881. "So the doors were locked, the students disbanded, the professors called

to other institutions, and silence held sway for a year over the deserted college." ¹ However, the citizens of Yellow Springs, to their great credit, resolved that the College should be started again. They met and chose a committee to sound the trustees on the question of reopening Antioch College under auspices of the Christian denomination. "Favorable answers having been received, another meeting was held at Yellow Springs, March 28, 1882. At this meeting were present many prominent members of the Christian denomination, and friends of the College. From these were chosen twenty men who should constitute the Christian Educational Society." ² Sixteen hundred dollars income from endowment funds was also placed in the Society's hands to help meet expenses.

More difficult was the work of securing a faculty; but by fall that too had been accomplished, Rev. O. J. Wait, of New Hampshire, being President, and the faculty being called from Vermont, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Nebraska. Rev. M. M. Lohr, field agent, diligently sought out students during the summer, and a good-sized convocation was held on Wednesday, September 13, 1882, in the college chapel. Many friends assembled at that time to rejoice over Antioch's revival, and the possibility that it might again become a college of the Christians. Rev. Josiah Knight, Rev. E. W. Humphreys, Rev. Mr. Lohr, and others were very active in behalf of the reopening; and the sessions of September 13 were much like a celebration and commencement occasion.

In 1883, Rev. D. A. Long, of North Carolina, became President, his administration continuing until summer, 1899. His services were effective, and in many respects brilliant. But disaffection arose in the Educational Society, which finally abandoned its attempt to carry the college burden, and the courts were invoked to decide the rights of parties concerned. The American Christian Convention in 1894 ordered that no appropriation from general educational funds be made to

¹ The Antiochian, July, 1883.

² Ibid.

Antioch until such time as the denomination should be granted larger representation on the board of trustees¹ (it then had eight members, against twelve Unitarians). This was practically the last expiring hope of the Christians relative to Antioch.

One who studies the list of presidents, professors, and students of Antioch, and the names of trustees and benefactors, must be impressed with the fact that many great and prominent men have served and befriended that College. One or two presidents have served Harvard College in the same capacity. Judge Mills, mentioned in connection with the early history of Yellow Springs and Antioch, said in 1876 that "though Antioch has had an existence of less than twenty-three years and graduated her first class nineteen years ago, and though she suffered an interruption during the war, she can point with pride to the high character of many of her students, to-wit: members of both branches of the legislature of Ohio, and of other states; a secretary of state; a superintendent of insurance; an attorney general; members of congress; judges of courts; consuls to Europe; editors of educational journals, and of other newspapers; brigadier and major generals; president of the Grand Army of the Republic; presidents of banks; presidents and professors of colleges, etc., etc."² The most famous *litterateurs* and college professors in America have been lecturers at Antioch. Once that institution's fame was second to that of no college in America.

LE GRAND CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

The school at Le Grand, Iowa, was passing through its severest trials in this period. School work had been suspended, when the new building was begun. Prospects for completing the students' home were good when building operations began. Then funds failed; money was borrowed; the building was mortgaged as security, and later sold under the sheriff's hammer; nor were those interested able to redeem it. "The

¹ Minutes of A. C. C., 1894.

² Antiochian, July, 1876.

already heavy financial burdens pressing hard upon the brotherhood were made still more intolerable by the storm of June, 1885, which removed the roof and damaged the walls to some extent. Over \$2,500 indebtedness, with a storm-beaten building, was enough to discourage many strong and faithful hearts; but there was not a willingness to surrender." After this calamity the property was sold back to the State Conference. Rev. W. C. Smith, to whom many thanks are due, raised money to consummate the deal and restore the property. About the time Le Grand Institute was becoming a college, Rev. Moses McDaniel also did heroic work as financial agent.

After the lapse of eleven school years without Institute sessions, and when the tornado's dire work had been largely overcome, and the new edifice was sufficiently completed, school reopened under a new charter as Le Grand Christian College, in September, 1889, with Rev. D. M. Helfenstein as first college President. His skilful administration avoided many difficulties, and gradually the much needed equipment was gotten together. Before the new building was finally completed, the old one had been demolished.

OTHER SCHOOLS

Starkey.—Starkey Seminary continued under the successive supervision of Revs. Messrs. O. F. Ingoldsby, W. J. Reynolds, G. R. Hammond, and A. H. Morrill. Its constituency and support were mostly local toward the end of this period. But school work was of a grade required by the regents of the University of New York.

Union Christian.—This College had but two presidents during these years, Rev. Elisha Mudge and Rev. L. J. Aldrich, both able men, the latter serving for a long term. Financial difficulties beset the way and hampered the College in its usefulness and proper work.

Weaubleau Christian College continued under its founder, doing its work without noise, but surely winning its way.

PUBLISHING INTERESTS

The Christian Publishing Association.—Debt clouds hung persistently over The Christian Publishing Association; and the new publishing plant, occupied since 1872, did not prove such a paying investment as was hoped. Various expedients were adopted to remedy matters. Twice the general Convention and The Publishing Association had consulted about transfer of the property to the Convention, but no transfer was made. Instead the membership in both bodies was made identical, a device still persisting. Liabilities amounting to nearly \$14,000 were reported, with assets nearly equal. Such conditions were clearly unsatisfactory.

With an identical membership for both bodies it has been found necessary to hold sessions at the same time and place, and hence The Christian Publishing Association has convened once in four years since 1886. At Marion, Ind., sale of the publishing plant was authorized, and within a month the premises were acquired by a railroad company in Dayton for \$22,000, the equipment being disposed of later, and the Association's business went into rented quarters.

Articles of incorporation were secured in 1893, the third article of which reads: "Third, the purpose for which said corporation is formed is: The object of this Association shall be to promote the union of Christians, and the conversion of the world by the publication of books, tracts, periodicals, and do any other such work as may with propriety be done by a Christian Publishing Association." Rev. D. A. Long was elected President of the trustees, and Rev. C. W. Choate, Secretary, the latter being succeeded within a few months by Rev. A. H. Morrill. Prosperity returned. Custom work was courted.

The regular publications were: *Herald of Gospel Liberty*; *Sunday School Herald*, for boys and girls, weekly since 1882; *Glad Tidings*, later discontinued; *The Little Teacher*, begun in

1881; *The Bible Class Quarterly and Teacher's Guide*, begun in 1879; and *The Intermediate Quarterly*. Under various names and combinations these Sunday-school supplies have been staple products of the Association and its chief sources of revenue. The "Christian Hymnary" passed through several editions, and was the standard denominational hymnary for many years.

In the South.—The Southern Christian Convention continued to foster publishing interests. Its chief support has been given to the *Christian Sun*, which was a private enterprise during this period, although receiving moral and financial support of the Convention. Rev. Messrs. J. P. Barrett, W. T. Walker and W. G. Clements were editors, Dr. Barrett for two terms. The *Sun's* constituency has increased, as have its good offices and influence. Its advocacy of general enterprises, notably the building of Elon College and the Christian Orphanage, has been strong and consistent.

In Canada.—Periodical ventures of Canadian brethren had failed up to this time, partly on account of insufficient support. But nothing daunted by former experiences, Rev. Thomas Garbutt, for the Ontario Christian Conference, began to issue, in January, 1890, *The Christian Magazine*, now *The Christian Vanguard*, a magazine of sixteen pages devoted especially to the welfare of the Ontario churches and Conference. Conference owns and controls the publication, which still continues its beneficent work.

In 1890 the American Christian Convention authorized its Secretary, Rev. J. J. Summerbell to issue a little official paper called the *American Christian*, and that paper was begun in 1891, and published several years with profit to the general cause. Its place has been supplied latterly by a department in the main official organ.¹

¹ Conference and private papers have been quite numerous; but no attempt has been made to gather a complete list of them.

ORGANIZED MISSIONS

The Missionary Society of the Christian Church had become the Mission Department of the Convention in 1878, with Rev. J. P. Watson as Mission Secretary, and the Society's Executive Board as a Mission Board for both denomination and department. Here begins effective organized missionary work by the Christians, more than eighty years after organization of the denomination in Virginia. During its first six months \$445 came into the Society's treasury, and a neat sum of \$2,200 the first year. Dr. Watson's duties had been defined chiefly as co-operation with conferences in missionary work; but immediately upon the Convention of 1878 he called for dimes from children for mission work, and thus commenced what was afterward called "The Children's Mission," represented by a department in the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*.

Children's Mission.—Money was now invested in home missionaries in many fields, and reports of their work were continually kept before the people. The plan "took," and succeeded. Rev. Hugh Beardshear, of Nebraska, was first missionary of the Children's Mission, employed in 1879.¹ In 1882 Dr. Watson reported employment already of twenty-two home missionaries, and raising of \$11,595 in eight years. Work had been done in Ontario and a dozen states, North and South, ranging from Maine to Texas.

Through the Mission Secretary the custom of observing "Children's Day" for home missions was introduced, and from 1882 to 1886, five years, that custom netted \$5,850. The custom still continues, having been formally adopted by Convention in 1882, and the second Sunday in June having been designated as home mission day.

FRANKLINTON CHRISTIAN COLLEGE²

Out of the Children's Mission grew another enterprise fraught with unforeseen good, namely Franklinton Literary

¹ Minutes of the A. C. C., 1882. ² Much of the matter in this sketch was furnished by Pres. H. E. Long; the balance from many sources.

and Theological Institute, now known as Franklinton Christian College, located at Franklinton, N. C., twenty-seven miles north of Raleigh. In 1878 Rev. H. E. Long was conducting a common school for colored boys and girls, which seems to have suggested a possible larger work of the same kind. Rev. George W. Dunn, a colored preacher also, about this time entered into correspondence with Dr. Watson, Mission Secretary, urging that mission funds be employed for instructing needy colored people and providing for their education. In response to this appeal and the solicitation of Dr. Watson, Rev. George Young, of New York, went to Franklinton in 1880, assuming charge of the school already started by Mr. Long, holding sessions in an old church near the present school buildings. Of course the pupils gathered had very limited ability to help themselves, and at once the necessity of larger and better quarters was apparent. J. E. Brush, of New York, visited the school in 1881 and became interested, and later was its general soliciting agent. An appeal for funds brought ready donations, and under supervision of Rev. J. W. Wellons, a southern man, the main building of the Institute was erected, and dedicated with appropriate exercises near the close of 1882. A chapel and eight rooms were constructed in this building, which was named "Brush Hall," after the generous deacon and soliciting agent. Already another call for funds had gone out, this time for construction of a dormitory; and Mrs. Emily Wilson, of Philadelphia, built and furnished the dormitory, naming it "Gaylord Hall," in memory of her father. Young ladies have occupied the dormitory rooms, and all students have boarded there. At her decease Mrs. Wilson left the Institute \$4,000 by will, and a like amount for the Children's Mission and the Christian Biblical Institute respectively. Later the North Carolina Conference (colored) bought a lot adjoining the Institute premises, and built a president's home; but unfortunately that building was burned in 1904 and has not been rebuilt.

When the Mission Department of the American Christian Convention was thoroughly organized for work, in 1886, the Franklinton school was made Convention property, and placed under a Board of Control. School property and endowment funds amounted then to about \$10,000. Rev. O. J. Wait added \$1,000 to the fund, and other sums have swelled the total. A perpetual charter was granted the school in 1891, its name being changed to Franklinton Christian College. From the first the College's success has been pronounced, and accommodations have been utterly inadequate.

FOREIGN MISSIONS

Except the effort for an African mission, nothing was done about foreign missions until early in the eighties. Alaska was suggested as a mission field in 1882, and the next year Dr. Watson urged foreign missions through the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. Money began to come in, the first dollar being from Isaac Kay, M. D., Springfield, Ohio. Sums were contributed along until 1886, and when Convention assembled that year the amount of \$1,281.69 was in hand. A man had also been selected as missionary.

Convention decided to open a mission in Japan, and Rev. Z. A. Poste was asked to become missionary, but was compelled to decline. During the presidency of Dr. D. A. Long, at Graham College, a sketch of which has appeared in this volume, Rev. D. F. Jones had attended that institution, and had made known to the President his missionary inclination. Jones and his wife had come from England to America not long before that, and Mrs. Jones's desire to become a foreign missionary was as strong as her husband's. Dr. Long talked over the matter of a suitable field with the member of Congress from his vicinity, and found that Jones's nationality and Great Britain's influence would likely give him a good opportunity in Japan. Dr. Long then communicated with Mission Secretary Watson about the Joneses, with the result that they offered themselves,

were accepted, were given a farewell at Irvington, N. J., sailed for Japan, reaching that country in the spring of 1887, and located at Ishinomaki, a quaint fishing town east of Sendai, on the coast. They purchased land for a church building, which was dedicated in February, 1888.¹ Their first church was organized in Ishinomaki, and had twenty-three members at the date of dedication. And so at last the Christians were really planting gospel seed in the Orient.

Missionary sentiment was strong at Albany and succeeding quadrennial conventions. The suggestion of a woman's missionary society with auxiliaries was made at Albany, in 1882, and Dr. Watson recommended the same in 1886. While Convention was steaming down the bay from New Bedford, enjoying an excursion, on the boat "Monohansett," Rev. A. H. Morrill, of the Missionary Committee, reported recommending twenty-five women to constitute a Woman's Board for Foreign Missions.²

Woman's Boards.—Immediately the women organized, adopting a constitution, and choosing Mrs. Achsah E. Weston as President, Rev. Emily K. Bishop as Vice-President, Rev. Ellen G. Gustin as Corresponding Secretary, Miss Annie E. Batchelor as Recording Secretary, and Mrs. Elizabeth D. Barry as Treasurer. A tinge of romance still clings to this Board on account of the circumstances of its organization. It immediately began active work, and has continued ever since, having raised \$35,000 for Convention missions. One of the first plans was to educate a medical missionary, but for some reason that never has been done.

The Mission Secretary had been urging conferences to co-operate with him in foreign missions (they had already

¹ H. G. L., February 2, 1888. ² Rev. Ellen G. Gustin, Mrs. Florence E. Howard, Miss Clara E. Rowell, Rev. H. Lizzie Haley, Mrs. Annie E. Lewis, Rev. Emily K. Bishop, Annie E. Batchelor, Mrs. E. A. Couse, Mrs. Jennie Garland, Mrs. J. H. Barney, M. Emma Godley, Mrs. Elizabeth D. Barry, Rev. Sarah E. Garwood, Mrs. Martha J. Wilcox, Mrs. Edith D. Cate, Mrs. Kate M. Judy, Rev. Rebecca Kershner, Rev. Jeannie Jones, Mrs. Oriella K. Hess, Miss Maude Shenk, Mrs. Emma Rasmussen, Mrs. Mattie P. Jackson, Mrs. Achsah E. Weston, Mrs. Nancy Slack, Mrs. Sarah Shockley.

been doing that in home missions), and he reported that fourteen conferences had responded, that fifteen women had been chosen as mission secretaries, and that thirty women's societies had been formed, the first being in West Mansfield, Mass.,¹ in 1885. A few juvenile societies were also reported.

Marvelous results, it will be observed, have already grown out of the Children's Mission. But yet another agency was needed to complete the list. At Marion, Ind., during the Convention, thirty women met and constituted a Woman's Board for Home Missions. They adopted a constitution and elected the following officers: President, Rev. Mary A. Strickland; Vice-President, Mrs. O. H. Keller; Recording Secretary, Miss C. Ella Keifer; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. J. P. Watson; Treasurer, Mrs. D. A. Long.² Immediately and ever since the helpfulness of this Board has been manifest in the denomination's home missions.

Japan Mission.—Returning to the Japan mission, we find Rev. and Mrs. Jones moving to Tokyo, a treaty port, by order of the government, and opening a preaching place in that great capital. However, the northern work was still prosecuted by Japanese pastors and workers, and supervised by the Joneses, who made trips northward as necessity called. Several points around Ishinomaki were worked, a church was organized at Ichinoseki, and a Tokyo church was gathered in 1889.³ At the end of four years there were three organized churches with ninety-two members.

Additions to the missionary force were made as follows: Rev. and Mrs. H. J. Rhodes joined the mission in 1889, but returned to America after about two and a half years of service; Rev. and Mrs. A. D. Woodworth and Miss Christine Penrod were commissioned in 1892. Mr. Woodworth was professor in Union Christian College when called to the Japan work. The

¹ The Ladies' Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the Warren and Sussex Counties Christian Quarterly Conference, of New Jersey, was organized in 1885. There were societies in Vienna and Baleville.—Chris. Miss., August, 1897.

² Minutes of the Convention, p. 221.

³ H. G. L., April 24, 1890.

Joneses resigned in 1893,¹ and went to China in fulfillment of a long-cherished desire, remaining in service of the British Bible Society until its work was interrupted by the Boxer rebellion. They lost all their property, and barely escaped with their lives. For some time they resided in San Francisco, but soon Mr. Jones went to his work in China, leaving his family in America. Mrs. Jones, being stricken with consumption and wishing to see her husband once more, bade farewell to her children and crossed the ocean to Shanghai. He was inland, but proceeded to Shanghai on learning of her presence, only to find that she had passed away and had been buried in the soil of China.

Rev. E. C. Fry quit his pastorate in Woodstock, Vt., in 1894, and went to Japan, leaving his then infant daughter with loving friends near the old Rhode Island home. Miss Susie V. Gullett, sometime lady principal at Union Christian College, volunteered for Japan and went in 1894.

The Japan mission's first convert was a youth named Toshio Ohta, talented and versatile, who became a very skilful interpreter. Seichi Watanabe was the first ordained pastor. Changes in *personnel* of the Japanese working force have been almost kaleidoscopic, and cannot be followed here.

The little church and wee little parsonage beside it in Ishinomaki cost \$125 gold. The next church property secured was in Oji, 1894, costing \$180 for a site and \$650 for building. Just as the denomination rounded its hundredth milestone, Endeavor Societies outside of New England were gathering funds for a church building in the Japanese capital.²

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY

Missionary propagandism was conducted through existing denominational periodicals, until 1894. The Convention of 1890 had authorized establishment of a missionary magazine;

¹ H. G. L., November 22, 1894.

² The New England Endeavorers have always contributed toward support of a missionary.

but way did not open for it until the fall of 1894, when, in October, Mission Secretary J. G. Bishop issued a sixteen-page magazine devoted to the denomination's home and foreign missions. It at once received adoption by the people and Mission Board, and has since continued. Dr. Bishop made the magazine indispensable, filling it with a surprisingly varied and interesting class of missionary matter, which came to a hungry constituency like palatable food. The Mission Secretary was both editor and publisher. His early efforts were attended by many vexations, but perseverance and toil won success.

When the first world's missionary congress was held in London, in 1888, Rev. N. Summerbell was delegate, and thus the denominational missionary enterprise became linked with the great world of missions.

RETROSPECT OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS

A hundred years! Looking back over the path traveled from 1794 to 1894 we have noted very remarkable consequences following apparently insignificant causes. Impulse was received and a movement created which has reached tens of thousands of hearts and lives. The cry for religious liberty and freedom of conscience has re-echoed powerfully. A few individuals in the erstwhile priest-ridden South, the dogma-bound states of New England, and the largely irreligious West asserted the integrity of conscience and its superiority to dogma, and abjured forever the rule of ecclesiasticism. Soon they were disfellowshipped and driven to one another for mutual comfort and spiritual assistance. The logic of events threw them out of joint with existing denominations. Freedom of thought cast doubt upon their moral integrity, and defense of their tenets branded them as heretics. These few men suffered malicious slander and persecution, social disability and loss of esteem. But by degrees their position became that of reformers, propagandists, itinerant venders of a homely gospel; icono-

clasts that struck at church demi-gods and hierarchies and demolished a deal else that might have been spared.

They traveled from place to place, with exuberant joy proclaiming their liberty and a gospel that gripped the masses among whom they moved. Great revivals followed, whole communities were touched, converts flocked to the new standard, and yet more to old communions, to live transformed lives. For spiritual safety and fellowship they were forced to organize churches and ordain preachers. A new denomination was not planned, was not sought. So simple minded were those early leaders and their converts that they were content to be simply Christians, unadorned with other sectarian names, and still hoped to find liberty in existing denominations. Bootless hope, doomed to disappointment!

Wolves crept into the flocks and tore the sheep. Still more radical and subversive doctrines than their own found espousal among the Christians. Protection must be provided, ministers must be accredited; and conferences were organized, rudimentary, often ephemeral, whose minutes were shorn of every sentiment or statement that might be distorted into creed or saddled upon men as trammels or leashes. Even conference officers died officially when the session adjourned. When necessity compelled closer organization for self-preservation, men sounded warning and predicted a new tyranny and inquisition. Chaos stood ready to envelop all. Could this inchoate mass be fused into form? Why not try? A general meeting was called to unify conferences and give counsel, sparsely attended, yet a harbinger of hope, a source of inspiration, a clearing-house of ideas. It dubbed itself a "General Conference." On successive years it met and delivered itself; then it died. No; animation was suspended, the General Conference was revived and has grown stronger for nearly ninety-two years.

Meantime the Christians spread all over New England, into New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, into every

state and territory east of the Mississippi, into Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. As a revival campaign the Christians' movement was superlative.

And then the future ministry: where should it be grounded in the principles of the denomination? Surely not in existing sectarian schools. Congenial schools of the prophets must be established. Some cried, "Stop! We want no sectarian dilltante ministry, no imitation of them!" Others said, "We must have schools, but they need not be theological. Make them academies and high schools and colleges; for we must have education." A third voice called attention to the marvelous success attending a ministry raised among the common people. Always a few, stalwart seers, men of first-class training, saw the true bearing of education upon a movement destined to play an honorable part in ushering in larger fraternity. Ignorance could beget only bigotry; intelligence was kin to brotherhood and tolerance. An educational revival resulted, first provocative of secondary schools, and then of early disastrous attempts at college building. Experience was costly, and not immediately effective. But from the days of Antioch onward the Christians have planted and nourished, scantily indeed, their several colleges, until they are maturing and outgrowing their infantile diseases. And with the rest came a theological school!

Only heroic itinerancy has surpassed journalism in building the Christian denomination. From the founding of the earliest religious newspaper in the world forward a horde of journals, lesser and greater, have sprung into existence in the denomination, many of them doomed to the capacious maw of Elias Smith's *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. That journal has outlived animosities, overcome poverty, temporized with creditors, traveled from city to city, with hardly an interruption of its weekly issue. For longevity it is unapproached in the brotherhood, the southern organ being its nearest rival. But the Christians have always used printer's ink in large quanti-

ties, and have tried all manner of publishing suitable to a religious cause, with enormous benefit.

The old word "itinerant" is now completely displaced by other more euphonious terms; but the home missionary of those formative days was a veritable traveler, who experienced all the discomforts and hardships of pioneer and border-civilization life. He usually had home and family, and the wonder is, not how he survived, but how his family eked out an existence. The initial impulse that spread the Christians' movement all over eastern America had not spent itself. The bow had spring, and the bow-string had twang, as these arrows of evangelistic flame were shot out to kindle spiritual life. But new times were dawning, and people began to exhibit conscience about the home missionary's lot and impecuniosity. Alongside spontaneous gospel proclamation began to run studied subsidized efforts. Home mission societies were organized everywhere, men were sent and given meager doles for preaching the undying truth. The aggregate of that work and expenditure was large, and its results still abide. Eventually a centralized missionary agency supplemented the conferences.

About forty years of home missions and over three-quarters of the eighteenth century had gone before the denomination ventured abroad to undertake a foreign mission. Japan was then voracious for western things, and missionary progress was rapid beyond hope; and Japan was chosen as a field for foreign work.

General organization was capped by state and sectional conferences and associations, professedly brought into existence to play father and elder brother to enterprises and missions needing aid and direction. With wider vision and resources multiplied, those state organizations have planted churches in larger centers and cities for strategic purposes.

The Christians have been an international body since their preachers founded churches in the Dominion of Canada, about the time of the War of 1812. The chasms caused by Civil War

have been closed up; and when 1894 marked her first hundred years, the Christian Church could boast of eleven hundred ministers, about the same number of churches, and a membership of perhaps a little more than one hundred thousand members, with the usual denominational machinery and institutions, educational, missionary, publishing, and others.

To many readers these results will seem incommensurate with a century of time and effort expended. They do not compare with what other denominations have done and become. But let readers remember that the Christians have ever sought to further a cause and propagate a principle, rather than build a denomination or weld it into a sect. Perhaps the cause has thriven better while the denomination grew slowly. And upon the whole the Christians have been content to decrease if Christian liberty might increase. Even the most sanguine prophet among them during any decade could hardly have dreamed what liberty and brotherhood the close of the denomination's first century would witness. Not that the denomination has contributed a lion's share to the change; but it has done nobly.

Well might the year 1894 have been celebrated with joy and acclaimed throughout the brotherhood. But alas! it passed with chilling indifference, except in the quadrennial convention of that year and in the South, where the centennial was observed among the churches and by a centennial edition of the *Christian Sun*.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER XIII

- Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vol. LXX-LXXXVI.
- Minutes of the American Christian Convention, 1878-1894.
- Catalogues of the Various Schools and Colleges.
- Early volumes of the Christian Missionary, beginning with 1895.
- Special Articles furnished by Request.
- Centennial of Religious Journalism, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D.

CHAPTER XIV

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UNION AND DISUNION

SO OFTEN has the "union" question cropped out in the history of the Christians that no coherent account can be given except by exclusive handling of that subject, and we devote a chapter to it.

Union—a subject for grandiloquent oratory, well-rounded periods; a subject for misunderstanding and debate; another sunken rock upon which the denominational ship has sometimes nearly split; an uncharted sea to be explored by hardy mariners, but not to be traversed with full sail and spumy prow. And yet union, real and true, is the most desirable state one could wish for the church.

The Christians themselves have not understood or interpreted their union principle or position uniformly, nor have they practiced it uniformly. To some it has meant co-operation, to others federation, to a third party amalgamation of denominations, to a fourth party a less tangible but real spirit of unity and brotherhood that sinks differences and levels divisions, allowing people to mingle as two drops of water do when in contact. Often it has been called "Christian union" to denote this spiritual aspect. With such divergent interpretations, naturally the Christians have wrangled among themselves about union. But, speaking generally, they have consistently cultivated and manifested a Christian spirit and fellowship for Christians of all denominations, insisting that they were Christians only who showed a Christian character. Such have found welcome fellowship among them.

Early leaders of the Christians advocated union, and probably Barton W. Stone was the greatest apostle of that doctrine. Whether one reads his autobiography, or his apology, or his

sermons, or editorials in his *Christian Messenger*, he must continually encounter the subject of union. Stone's propagandism served to keep that subject perennially before the denomination, causing him to be grossly misunderstood and severely criticised; and the denomination suffered inestimable damage in several respects. Had not several men of great influence stemmed the tide, history might be considerably different.

Reading Stone's teaching, one will often find about it a penumbra of intangibility, a sort of theoretical impracticability. He certainly did not advocate amalgamation or denominational union by legislation; but he branded the sin of sectarianism, and preached the duty of abolishing divisive names and politics and doctrines among Christians, and cultivating the spirit of harmony and co-operation. He believed that the Christians had reduced the grounds of fellowship to their lowest terms, and that real practical union would ensue whenever those terms were met. When Christian people throw away party names, like Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, and others, and rest content to be simply Christians; when they cease to talk dogma in theological phraseology, and instead talk Scriptural teaching in Scriptural language; when they admit people to church membership on grounds of Christlike character; then they will naturally flow together and union will follow, because they have become like each other, with nothing to hold them apart. Hence the Christians have insisted that they desired something behind co-operation and federation and fusing of sects, and those phases of fraternity have failed to greatly interest them.

There has been union courtship between the Christians on one hand, and Free Will Baptists, General Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Unitarians, Christian Union and Congregationalists on the other. One might charge the parties with coquetry, did he not discover earnestness and desire to promote true Christian fraternity.

WITH FREE WILL BAPTISTS

The Free Will Baptists arose contemporaneously with the Christians in New England, and strove for almost the same things. In New Hampshire they intermixed in revival work, in conferences, in ordinations, yet each retained his chosen affiliation. And Smith and Jones and Mark Fernald and other men frequented Free Baptist gatherings and shared in the service.¹ Printed reports of those early meetings do not distinguish between Free Baptist preachers and others.² Those delightful associations were mentioned frequently as examples of Christian union. What was so common in New England then was characteristic later and in other sections, as both Christians and Free Baptists spread. Naturally union between the two bodies was often broached. In 1818 they were making overtures in northern New England; but effected nothing except co-operation.³ Probably the subject of baptism was in the way, as elsewhere.

Two years later a conference was called at Covington, New York, "striving for a union between the two peoples." An agreement was reached by which the united body should be called "The Churches of God," (and the New York Western Conference contended that the name had Scriptural sanction,) they should have exchange of pulpits or ministers, and labor in harmony. Each denomination had its protagonist to lead in the discussion.⁴ And yet nothing came of the conference. It did not meet general approval, and matters of polity and doctrine obtruded themselves like awkward elbows. Immersion and the character of God and Christ were debated points.

Again, in 1823, Mark Fernald, as messenger of the United States Christian General Conference, visited the Free Baptist Yearly Meeting of his vicinity and asked whether the Free Baptists would co-operate in ordinations, baptism, and break-

¹ Fernald, p. 55. The fraternization was reciprocal. See *Chris. Her.*, Vol. II, p. 120. ² *A Religious Magazine, Free Baptist*, Nos. I-VIII, *passim*. ³ *H. G. L.*, Vol. I, p. 200. ⁴ *Chris. Her.*, Vol. II, p. 107; Badger, p. 218; Records New York Western Conference, 1820.

ing of bread.¹ He did not find ready agreement, except upon the part of a few, and negotiations ceased.

The same question arose in the South, before the War, and we find the North Carolina and Virginia Conference appointing a committee, about 1859, to correspond with the Cape Fear Free Will Baptist Association about union.² But union with the Free Baptists was still far away.

And yet the courting continued. A climax was again reached about 1885, when a conference between Free Baptists and Christians was held in Boston, with fifty-six preachers in attendance.³ A committee of eighteen was appointed, which met subsequently in New York and formulated the "New York basis," in substance this: The Bible the only rule of faith and practice; Christian character the only test of fellowship; independence and autonomy of each local church; union in work and worship, without controversy; covenant to labor and pray for ultimate amalgamation of the two bodies. It was proposed to unite in the already well established foreign missions of the Free Baptists. The New England Christian Convention and New York State Association of Christians adopted the "New York basis," (as did some Free Baptist Yearly Meetings,) which was submitted to the Free Baptist General Conference in 1886.⁴ The American Christian Convention of 1886 was strongly urged in the president's address to consummate union. The Convention approved the work of the Committee of Eighteen and a continued effort to perfect union of both bodies on the designated basis. A committee of five was instructed to confer with all parties desiring Christian union; to act as fraternal messengers to the General Conference of Free Baptists, Southern Christian Convention, and other bodies. Representatives of Free Baptists attended the American Christian Convention to speak in behalf of their people. Delegates from the American Christian Convention went to Marion, Ohio, to

¹ Fernald, p. 173.
H. G. L., January 6, 1887.

² Kernodle, p. 300.

³ Records A. C. C., 1886.

express hope of consummating union. But the Free Baptists did not consummate denominational union.¹ They voted: "We are ready to join in organic union with such Christians as may so far agree with us in doctrine and usage as to give assurance of continued harmony and peaceful relation in Christian work."²

In 1886 the Free Baptist State Convention of New York refused to endorse the basis formed by a Yearly Meeting at Middlesex, and the three Christian Conferences of New York thereafter felt less interest in union.³ However, the State Christian Association sent a committee to Buffalo early in 1887 to meet and arrange union with trustees of the Free Baptist Central Association. Things went swimmingly. The so-called "Phoenix basis" and "Stanfordville basis" were adopted, a constitution was arranged and adopted, and consolidation was recommended immediately.⁴ The territory embraced was New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ontario. But alas for human plans! It was discovered that the Christian denomination was in danger of dismemberment: its official organ said some caustic things; the Committee of Five of the American Christian Convention complained of being ignored; the *Morning Star*, of Boston, called the Christians "a nebulous body," and discouraged union.⁵

Another snag was struck when merging of educational interests was considered. It was proposed to make Starkey Seminary, on Seneca Lake, a nucleus for a large institution. But financial inducements were not sufficient, and some objections were urged against the location. Eventually the Free Baptists located on Keuka Lake near Penn Yan. Both denominations felt their position a minimum with nothing to surrender; and so, in spite of the Buffalo meeting, no consolidation occurred, co-operation gradually ceased, and union remained a dream. During this courtship committee meetings or conven-

¹ H. G. L., January 6, 1887.
10, 1887.

² *Ibid.*, April 21, 1887.
⁴ *Ibid.*, January 20, 1887.

³ *Ibid.*, March
⁵ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1887.

tions were held at Boston, Fall River, New York, Middlesex, Phoenix, Buffalo, Whitestown, Oneonta, and perhaps other places.¹

A union convention of the Connecticut and Rhode Island Association of Free Baptists, Rhode Island and Massachusetts General Six Principle Baptists, Rhode Island Association of Free Baptists, and Rhode Island and Massachusetts Christian Conference was held early in 1887, in New England, in the interests of union and closer fellowship; but nothing developed worthy of note.²

A union involving Free Baptists, Christians, Disciples, and Church of God arose out of a ministerial association in Philadelphia, and touched the cluster of churches of those communions around the city. The local organizations called themselves "United Christian Churches," and the whole group constituted "The Philadelphia Conference of Christian Churches." In the city ten churches were numbered from one to ten, and were known as First or Second United Christian Church, and so on. This was really a co-operation or federation, and probably hastened the demise of some churches.³ It was stated that the Free Baptist people arranged to leave their property to the Christian Conference if they lost organic life by any misfortune.⁴

· WITH THE DISCIPLES

This union agitation began in eastern Ohio in 1827. When the followers of Alexander Campbell became numerous in Kentucky, and Campbell and Stone had measured each other's positions, Stone began to urge union with the Disciples of Christ (the name which Campbell had selected for his followers). It was objected that Campbell's doctrine of baptism differed from that of the Christians, and that he denied the

¹ H. G. L., March 24, November 17, 1887. ² Ibid., March 10, 1887.
³ Ibid., March 24, 1887. ⁴ The Free Baptists were formally united in some phases of work with the Baptists, October 5, 1911. Probably there will be no more courting between them and the Christians.

work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration. Stone admitted differences, but insisted that they were not such as to preclude union, since in other respects Disciples and Christians thoroughly agreed. Upon one point Stone would not yield one inch: he would not allow his brethren to surrender the name "Christian" as a denominational title, and used all his powers of persuasion to have the Disciples content themselves with that name. A public meeting was held at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1832, at which both Disciples and Christians agreed to leave aside their differences and to act as one. Neither party abandoned its position; neither party joined the other. They simply met and threw down the fence and mingled as brethren, without question as to which had gone over to the other. So said John Rogers. Stone took Rev. J. T. Johnson, a Disciple, as co-editor of the *Christian Messenger*; by his influence many Disciple churches called themselves "Christians" only; and from both parties evangelists were sent to travel together in the name of and for the united cause, which rapidly increased.

Alex. Campbell seems not to have actually shared in this union movement, but was represented by J. T. Johnson, John Smith and others.¹ His aim and convictions were tending otherwise; and ere long the Disciples began to assert their peculiarities and persuade the Christians to fall in therewith. For one thing the Christians began to immerse for the

¹ Probably Campbell did not even favor the union. The *Christian Messenger* for November, 1831, quotes an editorial from the *Millennial Harbinger* (Campbell's paper) as follows: "Or does he [Stone] think that one or two individuals, of and for themselves, should propose and effect a formal union among the hundreds of congregations scattered over this continent, called Christians or Disciples, without calling upon the different congregations to express an opinion or a wish upon the subject?" "We discover, or think we discover, a squinting at some sort of precedence or priority in the claims of the writer of the above article," etc. P. 242.

Campbell also insisted upon immersion before believers were received into fellowship, to which Stone answered: "We cannot, with our present views, unite on the opinion that unimmersed persons cannot receive remissions of sins," and hence he did not make immersion a condition to church membership. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

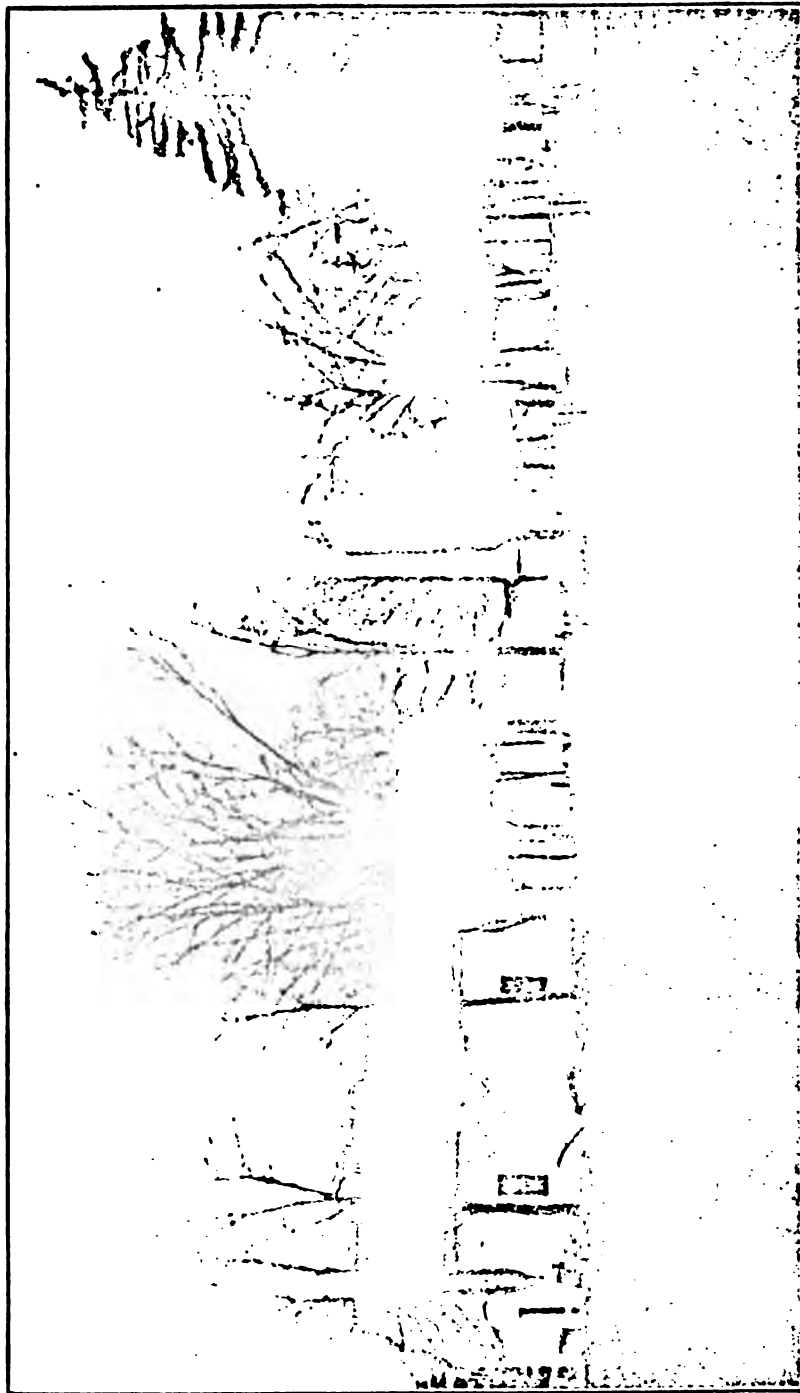
Campbell, by strange argument, deuced that *chrematizo* means to name or call by divine appointment; wherefore the name "Christians" is no better than "Disciples," or other names. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

remission of sins.¹ Stone's attention was called to the transformation, but he persisted that he believed in Campbell's sincerity, and that reason did not exist for his retreat.

When Stone went to Jacksonville, Illinois, to live, he found there both Christians and Disciples, each bidding for his support. He declined to join either until they should unite, dropping all party names, and becoming "Christians." His influence was strong and his counsel prevailed. This was about 1834.² Then followed a wave of "Campbellism" that swept the Christians off their feet, and aggregated about eight thousand accessions to the Disciples. No Christian Churches long survived in Tennessee, their cause was ruined in Kentucky and never has regained its former strength or prestige. Of the Southern Ohio Christians a majority of the preachers embraced "Campbellism" prior to 1837, and only about one thousand church members remained.³ A man named C. A. Eastman, traveling through Indiana about 1846, reported ⁴ that, "In many places they [the Christians] have amalgamated with the Disciples, and are known only as the same people." Several years later it was reported ⁵ that on Stone's account conferences of the Christians had been dissolved and churches disbanded, and the people had become amalgamated with the Disciples.

Stone asserted that *he* had not abandoned the Christians or joined the Disciples. His influence and efforts worked three ways: they helped to confirm the position of both Disciples of Christ and Christians on "Christian union;" they divided the Christians; they began endless confusion of Disciples with Christians. If the Disciples of Christ in various places call their churches "Christian Churches," and themselves "Christians" only, and gain adherents from the "old Christians;" if for years they were given credit in the United

¹ Stone and others came to believe in baptism for remission of sins; but as stated in preceding note, he did not make it a test of fellowship. *Chris. Mess.*, Nov., 1831, p. 252. See letter of J. P. Andrew, of Cincinnati, avowing belief in such baptism. *Ibid.*, February, 1831, p. 46. ² Stone, p. 79. ³ *Chris. Pall.*, Vol. VI, p. 203. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 302. ⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 283.



(From "The Cane Ridge Meeting-House," by courtesy of the author, J. R. Rogers.)

CANE RIDGE MEETING-HOUSE, CANE RIDGE, KY.

As it appears to-day, after being remodelled to preserve the original building.

States census for the Christians; and if in the country at large most people know no distinction between the bodies: Barton W. Stone is largely to blame. Very naturally Disciple historians are claiming Stone and some of his co-laborers.

At the New York Christian Missionary Convention, a gathering of the Disciples of Christ, held at Tully, N. Y., in September, 1873, resolutions were introduced in response to an expressed desire of "different brethren of the religious body known as 'The Christian Connection,'" creating a committee of five from the Disciples of Christ to visit the New York State Christian Association, a few days later, "to express Christian sympathy, extend our Christian greeting, and make known our desire to cultivate fraternal relations with them." Two committeemen discharged the duty contemplated. The Association responded by choosing a committee of five to confer with the committee from the Disciples, "to seek, in the love of the Lord, for some basis of union in Christian work." Both committees met at Syracuse, N. Y., April 21, 1874, and after due consultation signed a report recommending that Christians and Disciples cultivate each other's acquaintance, exchange pulpits, attend each other's conferences, associations, and missionary conventions, in hopes that eventually a common ground of union might be found. Rev. Messrs. I. C. Tryon, B. F. Summerbell, E. R. Wade, Latham Coffin and S. B. Bowdish signed for the Christians, together with Rev. I. C. Goff and Rev. Martyn Summerbell, who were present as interested spectators. Reports were submitted to each body concerned; but almost no further results are chronicled.¹

We have already detailed the rise of "Campbellism" in Pennsylvania, and also explained how several Christian conferences came into existence in that state. In northern central Pennsylvania a considerable membership of Christians was reported after the War. Conferences also existed in southwestern and northwestern Pennsylvania, the former including

¹ H. G. L., May 30, 1874.

territory where the Campbells met with their first success as reformers. To-day a very large proportion of churches in the Pennsylvania Conference are Disciple churches.

John Ellis, visiting his former fields in Pennsylvania, sent glowing accounts of how Christians and Disciples had "come together on a platform of Christian union," and all belonged to the Pennsylvania Conference.¹ Only the Lewisburg church is left to-day. It was a case of slow absorption, extending over about thirty years. Rev. E. W. Humphreys, a historian and biographer of wide acquaintance among the Christians, wrote in 1878 of the union between Disciples of Christ and Christians in Pennsylvania. He stated that the method of union was to induce Christians to employ Disciple ministers, usually under guise of union; that then the ministers gradually asserted Disciple doctrines, and ultimately gained the churches.²

There has been no formal negotiation between general organizations of the denominations. There can be no general affiliation. Prof. Gates says that the Disciples have attained their remarkable growth by two methods—evangelism and proselytism. The latter is utterly repugnant to the genius of the Christians. Neither do they have communion service every Sunday, nor baptize for remission of sins, nor shut out all unbaptized persons from membership. These differences being perpetuated, union between the two bodies will be impossible.

WITH THE UNITARIANS

In the foregoing pages frequent mention has been made of relations between Unitarians and Christians. Unitarians entered Boston in 1785, with James Freeman. The very year the Christian Church, South, was organized, 1794, Unitarianism appeared in New York in the person of John Butler; and hence the Unitarian movement arose contemporaneously with the Christians' movement; but the Christians early outstripped the Unitarians in point of numerical increase. Both had a

¹ H. G. L., April 21, 1887; April 5, 1888.

² Ibid., September 14, 1878.

kindred tie in standing for religious liberty. In the process of time leading men in both denominations became acquainted and accorded mutual fellowship.

A Mr. Fuller, a Unitarian minister in Wisconsin, became a member of the Northern Illinois and Wisconsin Christian Conference in 1844, and provoked considerable talk about union.¹ He published his action and position, and Christian ministers did the same.

About this time and a little subsequently the Pennsylvania Christian Conference made overtures to three denominations—the Disciples of Christ, the Unitarians and the "Church of God." Resolutions touching the subject were passed in the Pennsylvania Conference and in the American Unitarian Association. It was stated that *one* Unitarian minister had already been trying union.² Another conference or two had taken up union talk.

But among the Christians the proposal did not meet much favor. In 1848 the New Jersey Christian Conference even passed a resolution of disfavor. However, the establishment of Meadville Theological School in 1843 kept up agitation. The Unitarians and Christians co-operated in that enterprise.¹ That alliance did not suit a very large per cent. of Christians, except those nearest the seat of the School. It resulted in a stigma upon the Christians, who declared that they were not Unitarians in sentiment or teaching. A breach between the denominations over Antioch arose also, and later when action was taken in 1866, looking toward a theological school for the Christians, the coalition with the Unitarians was dissolved, although both general bodies have exchanged fraternal courtesies ever since.

WITH THE "CHRISTIAN UNION"

During the war a denomination calling itself the "Christian Union" was quite prominent, with churches in western

¹ Chris. Pall., Vol. XIV, p. 73.

² Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 69, 134, 163, 170.

states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. In part the denomination was composed of people holding identically the tenets promulgated by the Christians, and in part of churches that had once belonged to the Christians, but had been alienated during the War.¹ Without thought we might expect the union subject to arise here.

In 1869 the North Carolina and Virginia Conference had proposals before it involving the Christians and Christian Union, and appointed "four commissioners to confer with the Christian Union brethren of the Western States, if in the opinion of the commissioners such a conference should appear desirable." No results came of the action.²

In the state of Iowa a union was formed between the Iowa State Christian Conference and Christian Union brethren, during the summer of 1873. Each body met at Le Grand and held sessions by itself, while tentative union proposals were being discussed; and then joint sessions were held, resulting in formation of the "State Association of Churches of Christ in Iowa." Rev. J. B. Young was elected President, and Rev. W. V. Lucas, Secretary. This union was based on principles from the first adopted by the Christians: the Scriptures the only rule of faith and practice; Christian character the only test of church fellowship; independence of local churches; promotion of missionary, publishing and other co-operative measures.

The aim was stated to be cultivation of Christian acquaintance between the bodies; promotion of harmony and union in Christian labor; consideration and supervision of general interests belonging to the Christian cause in Iowa.

This Association was composed of delegates of churches and religious bodies responding to the general call. The enrollment at Winterset, in August, 1874, when the second session was held, was representative of five conferences and twelve churches. Then resolutions were passed touching

¹ Annual of the Christian Church, South, 1871, p. 75. and Va. Conf., 1869. See Ap., p. 390.

² Minutes N. C.

employment of a soliciting agent for Le Grand Christian Institute, which was supposed to be under supervision of the newly formed Association; concerning support of the Christian Biblical Institute, and patronage of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* and *Sunday School Herald*. Delegates were appointed to the approaching quadrennial sessions of the American Christian Convention, to be held at Stanfordville, N. Y. As for Christian Union enterprises, a committee was raised to consider whether endowment of a professorship in Humboldt College, in Iowa, were feasible.¹

To all intents and purposes this Association brought Christian Union people into line with the Christians, to support the latter's enterprises. A large tent owned by the Christian Union was used for several seasons for revival purposes. But gradually each denominational section gravitated toward its own center, and union and co-operation ceased. The Christians gained but little advantage from that Union. The Iowa State Conference emerged, as the Association disappeared.

Before 1886 Christian Union people in the West had been co-operating with the Christians, holding conventions to plan for union, and some state associations and conferences of the latter body had formulated and adopted a working basis. When the quadrennial session of the American Christian Convention met at New Bedford, in 1886, it received a communication from the General Council of Churches of the Christian Union, offering "co-operation and union" "in the name of Christ on the Bible." In addition to five cardinal principles usually enumerated by the Christians, the basis of union offered included: local church autonomy; preaching of partisan politics discountenanced; annual and general meetings to be called "Conferences of the Churches of Christ;" the question of union to be submitted to individual churches of both denominations, and union to become effective as soon as a majority vote was reported; title to local church property to be unaffected; and

¹ H. G. L., July 25, 1874, and succeeding issues.

a few other matters of polity. The American Christian Convention approved and recognized union upon cardinal points as decided upon between the two communions in states concerned, and appointed fraternal messengers to the General Council.¹

Four years later the standing committee on union reported that "the union with the Christian Union has been more and more recognized," and that a meeting had recently been held at Springfield, Ohio, to forward union. Just how much strength was added to the Christians we are unable to say. Two or three Christian Union churches and a few ministers actually united, out of one hundred forty churches and two hundred ministers reported.

In 1909 in Missouri there was talk about union between Christian Union brethren and the Christians, and the subject was brought before one of the Missouri conferences, but with no results whatever.

WITH THE GENERAL BAPTISTS

For many years there had existed in England a dissenting body called General Baptists, dating back more than two hundred fifty years, with whom fraternal relations have been maintained. That body learning of the Christians in America, sent greetings as early as 1823. The two bodies have contended for quite similar principles, and found themselves in accord. Rev. Joseph Badger sought to go to England in 1824 to effect a union.² Fraternal messengers have been exchanged, Rev. D. W. Moore having gone to England as representative of the American Christian Convention to the General Baptist Assembly in 1867, and Rev. J. A. Brinkworth, of London, having come with greetings from his people to conferences of the Christians in 1876 and 1880.³ The General Baptist Assembly, gathered in London, in 1865, sent greetings and sympathy on account of Lincoln's assassination, and response was made in proper vein.

¹ Minutes of A. C. C., 1886.
p. 21.

² Badger, p. 264.

³ Chris. An., 1902,

Again, when agitation for union with the Free Baptists was coming to a head, the General Baptists sent greetings and expressed hope of actual union.¹ And relations with the English brethren have been maintained since.

SPORADIC CASES

A few sporadic cases of suggested union might be mentioned, but a single one will perhaps be typical. About 1835 Joseph Badger wrote to a certain influential Presbyterian minister who seemed open to suggestion that Presbyterians and Christians in central New York hold a meeting to consider union, and Badger suggested certain grounds upon which all evangelical bodies might meet. His proposition was rejected entirely, as it probably should have been. But somewhat later, at Syracuse, New York, in 1838, was held a convention of several denominations to discuss union. The Christians were represented. "A species of Presbyterians" (not described) took the lead in the discussion. Five resolutions were adopted, in substance as follows: The fit to enter the church in heaven are fit to enter the church on earth; faith in Jesus Christ is key to the door of the church in heaven; if more than satisfactory evidence is required for fellowship, that would exclude some of Christ's followers; to shut out any child of God incurs fearful guilt; to receive people of varying views incurs no more responsibility than to obey any other command of Christ. The meeting dissolved without results.²

WITH THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

In perusing church literature of the seventies one will frequently find mention of a paper published in New York and called *Church Union*, the self-appointed mission of which was to advocate the following principles:

"1. Whatever occasion may have existed in times past

¹ Minutes A. C. C., 1886.

² Chris. Pall., Vol. VII, pp. 161-164.

for the division of the Church into separate denominations, we hold that the efforts of Christians should be henceforth and continuous toward an actual and visible oneness.

"2. While opposed to any such concentration of powers as would trench upon the inherent liberty of the individual Christian or society of disciples, we hold that the evangelical believers and congregations of each locality should aim to manifest to the world their essential unity in faith and spirit.

"3. We hold those churches to be evangelical, which, maintaining the Holy Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ (the only-begotten of the Father, King of kings and Lord of lords, in whom dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and who was made sin for us, though knowing no sin, bearing our sins in his own body on the tree) as the only name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved from sin and eternal punishment."

These principles were endorsed and advocated by influential men of leading denominations, and *Church Union* is said to have had a large constituency and circulation. Public meetings were held in many places in New York and other states to advance the principles above. That movement soon reached Michigan. Free Baptists, Congregationalists and Christians indulged in considerable correspondence looking toward a union on the basis above cited; for they deemed it wise to lessen the number of denominations by consolidating those whose polity and belief were similar. Echoes of that Michigan agitation have come down to our day; and for twenty years prior to 1895 union was quite a theme with the Christians of that state.

As in other instances, the union was mostly in talk. But there were some results from the agitation. At least three churches fostered by the Christians—Belding, Nashville, and Pittsford—became Congregational, and some Christian ministers joined the Congregational church; while on the other hand the Maple Rapids church became Christian. The Beld-

ing church was organized on a union basis, and is said to have embraced adherents of no less than eight denominations. Eventually the Congregationalists gained the ascendancy and affiliation of the Belding church.¹

Readers might suppose that there was a considerable secession to the Congregational church; but such was not the case. Agitation was promoted by several denominations, and the Christians did not begin it in Michigan or elsewhere. Undoubtedly the Christian denomination suffered most; but possibly their cause advanced.

In New England local conditions suggested some sort of alliance to preserve remnants of dead or decaying churches; and no people seemed more akin to the Christians than the Congregationalists. A few ministers had been exchanged in the course of years, and experienced enjoyable fellowship. Finally, the subject was put before the New England Christian Convention in 1893, and pretty thoroughly dissected. A way to union was possible, although all advances must come from Christians. A year later the American Christian Convention met at Haverhill, Mass., and union was quite prominent. Resolutions were adopted which looked innocent enough then, but which became a bone of contention later. The Committee on Christian Union met afterward at Craigville, Mass., and found some difficulty in formulating their thought. It is not necessary to follow the matter further. Sporadic union talk continued for several years. No results followed directly; but several ministers of the Christians had their attention called to Congregationalism, and later changed their fellowship.

CINCINNATI CONVENTION

At Cincinnati, in 1874, synchronous with the Michigan union talk, several denominations were represented in a meeting to consider "organic Christian unity." A basis of union

¹ Rev. D. E. Millard, of Michigan, furnished some matter on the Michigan union.

was decided upon, and, as usual, members of the Christian Connection were concerned. The formulary is too lengthy to reproduce here. It was planned to recognize as "Union Christian ministers" such clergymen as subscribed to the basis, and to allow churches to adopt the basis and become "Union Christian Churches of America." No change of denominational relations was required. A second convention was planned for the year 1875. Some Christians in Ohio and the South were interested and represented at Cincinnati; but eventually they did nothing.¹

Most of the larger conferences and associations and even the American Christian Convention have, therefore, been drawn into union talk and plans, and have delivered themselves of manifestoes on the union question. Some of them are still good reading; *e. g.*, the somewhat lengthy report adopted by the Miami Ohio Conference, in 1870.

THE PITTSBURGH FOUR-DENOMINATION CONFERENCE

Few movements have raised greater expectation, created greater comment, or resulted in more disappointment in certain quarters than that culminating April 22 and 23, 1903, in a four-cornered conference between representatives of the United Brethren, Congregational, Methodist Protestant and Christian denominations. The agitation began the year before, introduced by the United Brethren. Leading men in all four bodies had been discussing the proposed union, and had foreseen no insurmountable hindrance, unless vested interests and endowed institutions should stand in the way. The press of each denomination had expressed itself cautiously, reaching varied conclusions. Finally, a conference was called to meet at Pittsburgh on the date mentioned, the Christians not being formally included in the call. Rev. Messrs. J. J. Summerbell, O. W. Powers and J. F. Burnett represented the Christians,

¹ Annual of Southern Churches, 1874, p. 70. See full report of Cincinnati meeting in H. G. L., November 21, 1874.

and were by vote of the conference included in the roll of the meeting. Washington Gladden, D. D., of Ohio, Congregationalist, presided. After organization, representatives of the denominations were called upon to express themselves on the church union question. Dr. Summerbell was the first to speak, declaring that if a union that would include all followers of Christ were formed, the Christians would gladly merge themselves into the new body, transferring their interests as fast as arrangements could be made; but if union were not effected, then he offered a plan of federation, which provided for a committee from each body "to suggest and carry forward gospel enterprises," only such work being undertaken as the commission could unanimously agree upon; that other denominations be admitted to the commission on the same terms; that the commission be self-governing, subject to the unanimity rule; that the expenses be shared equally by the denominations federated; that debt and causes of division be avoided.

Methodist Protestants demanded a formal organization having definite name, creed, laws, and officers, a centralized authority, with real local autonomy for churches and small district associations.

The United Brethren required "an evangelical confession of faith, general superintendency in government, a modified form of itinerancy, vesting of property rights in the new organization, a new name to the exclusion of all present names of the denominations conferring.

Congregationalists proposed a national council of delegates to have supervision of "our entire communion," to assist in adjusting the relations of local bodies, directed to approve "the several creeds or statements of faith in common use in the bodies," and in general promote the welfare of the united body; local bodies to follow such methods of procedure as they were accustomed to; and creation of a sub-committee to work out details for furtherance of union.

The sub-committee reported to the conference a plan: to

affirm the formulated statements of doctrine of each denomination, the formation of a General Council of delegates from the denominations, chosen in the ratio of membership, without legislative or judicial powers, each denomination retaining its name and autonomy in respect to local affairs, but adding to its official title "in Affiliation with the General Council of the United Churches."

This report was adopted by three denominations, but the Christians could not agree to the affirmation of creeds, one or three, or more, and had no further formal connections with the negotiations. They did offer amendment to allow each denomination to stand on its own doctrinal basis, but that was not acceptable to the other denominations.

It remains to be said merely that the proposed plans were not adopted by the three denominations in their national bodies, and that therefore union was not effected.

With the exception of an increment acquired from the Christian Union people, the union question, whenever it has been taken seriously, has resulted in numerical loss to the Christians. Other denominations have benefitted, the Christians sorrowed. And it should be said also that discussion of union never has conduced to harmony within the denomination, but has provoked discord. So long as the question is one of fellowshiping all Christians, of co-operating, of practicing unity, all goes well; but when merging churches and denominations is proposed, difficulty begins. The above instances will illustrate the several phases of union discussion, and give point to general conclusions just stated.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER XIV

Chiefly as indicated in the foot-notes. No attempt has hitherto been made to bring this scattered matter together.

CHAPTER XV

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE SINCE 1894

SINCE 1894 probably the most remarkable gain made by the denomination has been in its educational institutions, an advance abundantly reflected in the character of the ministry and new laity.

THE NEW STARKEY

Considerably the oldest school founded by the Christians stands on the west shore of beautiful Seneca Lake, in New York. But it has been rejuvenated, and youthful vigor now marks its course. Age had begun to leave its impress, when Hon. F. A. Palmer, of New York, set aside funds to erect a handsome new building on a site very much nearer the lake than the old one. This building was dedicated in September, 1900, many prominent men being present, and Mr. Palmer himself presenting the keys to the board of trustees. Since then the old buildings have been empty, until within a year or two the International Sunshine Society has established there Starkey Seminary Sunshine Lodge, a rest home for women and girls, with accommodations for nearly one hundred guests. The Lodge is also hotel of the town, formerly called Eddytown, but now Lakemont. Mr. Palmer erected a president's mansion and a handsome church building, secured a parsonage property, made a direct endowment of one hundred thousand dollars to the Seminary, and provided for its future needs out of the munificent Francis Asbury Palmer Fund. These investments in Lakemont represent more than one hundred fifty thousand dollars. So large is the new seminary building that teachers' living rooms, dormitories for both boys and girls,

recitation rooms, society rooms, music and art studios, and dining rooms are amply accommodated.

When contemplating this rejuvenation of Palmer Institute-Starkey Seminary, Mr. Palmer made it possible to place Rev. Martyn Summerbell at its head. Dr. Summerbell has had large educational experience, scholastic training, and ministerial service. He is a nephew of Nicholas Summerbell, first president of Union Christian College, and began his college training under direction of his uncle. He has been connected with the Christian Biblical Institute, the Correspondence College, besides other schools or colleges outside the denomination. His administration at Lakemont has been entirely successful.

The following-named men have been principals or presidents of Starkey Seminary: Rev. Charles Morgridge, 1842-1844; Thomas E. Turner, 1844-1847; Rev. Edmund Chadwick, 1847-1861; Rev. O. F. Ingoldsby, 1861-1872; B. F. McHenry, M. A., 1873-1877; R. D. Evans, 1877-1878; Rev. O. F. Ingoldsby, 1878-1885; Rev. Wm. J. Reynolds, 1885-1886; Rev. G. R. Hammond, Ph. D., 1886-1891; Rev. A. H. Morrill, M. A., D. D., 1891-1894; Frank Carney, 1894-1895; Rev. G. R. Hammond, Ph. D., 1896-1898; Rev. Martyn Summerbell, Ph. D., D. D., LL. D., 1898—.

ADVANCE OF UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

Circumstances attending the founding of this college have already been detailed, attention being directed to the stockholding plan of financing it. A gradual shrinking of endowment and insufficient funds for current expenses involved the college in debt and embarrassment. When Hon. F. A. Palmer endowed other schools, he made a conditional offer of thirty thousand dollars to Union Christian College, and eventually fifty thousand dollars was added to its permanent funds. When the late Rev. C. J. Jones became President, he at once raised money for renovating the buildings and giving them modern equipment. New interest was awakened, and success was

attending the President's devoted efforts, only to be halted by his sudden death, ere his work was well begun. His plans for repairing and improving buildings and equipment were carried out under leadership of President O. B. Whitaker, who put the College into good working order again, with debts wiped out, a good student constituency secured, and prospect of large future usefulness. In 1909 a ladies' dormitory was completed providing accommodations for about seventy students. This has proved a great benefit. Dr. Whitaker developed the normal department (he has earned a reputation as maker of teachers), and strengthened others very materially. The Biblical Department offers an English Bible course and a theological course.

A delightful location on the bluff one hundred fifty feet above Wabash river, improved buildings and new dormitory, well crystallized traditions, deepening loyalty of an increasing constituency, all augur favorably for coming years.

Following is a list of presidents by years of service: N. Summerbell, D. D., 1860-1866; Thomas Holmes, D. D., 1866-1876; Rev. T. C. Smith, M. A., 1876-1883; Elisha Mudge, D. D., 1883-1887; L. J. Aldrich, Ph. D., 1887-1905; C. J. Jones, D. D., 1905-1906; G. R. Hammond, Ph. D., 1906-1907; O. B. Whitaker, Pd. D., D. D., 1907-1911; D. A. Long, D. D., LL. D., 1911—.

LE GRAND COLLEGE BECOMES PALMER COLLEGE

We have followed the fortunes of Le Grand Christian College from its founding in 1865, to the granting of a new charter in 1889, creating Le Grand Christian College out of Le Grand Christian Institute. About 1897 the College was conditionally given thirty thousand dollars by Hon. F. A. Palmer, and soon added fifty thousand dollars to its endowment. In honor of its benefactor, the trustees adopted a new name, and since 1897 the College has been styled "Palmer College." Better equipment and larger faculty were thus made possible. Dr. Helfenstein's successor, in 1899, was Rev. Carlyle Summerbell,

near the close of whose administration there was agitation about removing the College to a better location. This threw the work into some disorder, and the attendance declined. For the year 1906-07 there was no president, Prof. Harry Haas, dean, being acting President. Then Rev. E. C. Kerr, who had been pastor of the Christian Church in Le Grand, and dean of the college, for one year, became President in 1908, continuing to 1911. His administration was successful in gaining support and constituency and students for that College. He contemplated and started some manual training. Preparatory and collegiate, as well as normal and commercial departments have been maintained. For prospective ministers a Biblical course has been taught. It is impossible to estimate this school's value to the denomination in Iowa.

The following persons have served as principal or president: Rev. D. M. Lines, 1865-1867; Mrs. Josephine Guthrie, 1867-1868; Rev. O. A. Roberts, 1868-1870; Rev. F. R. Wade, 1873; Prof. Chas. Ellison, 1873-1876; Prof. J. Q. Evans, 1876-1878; interregnum; D. M. Helfenstein, M. A., D. D., 1889-1899; Carlyle Summerbell, M. A., D. D., 1899-1906; Prof. Harry Haas, M. S., acting, 1906-1907; Rev. E. C. Kerr, M. A., acting, 1907-1908; E. C. Kerr, 1908-1911; Rev. E. A. Watkins, M. A., 1911—.

WEAUBLEAU CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

The founder and long-time President, Rev. John Whitaker, severed his connection with Weaubleau, in 1905, and was succeeded by his son, O. B. Whitaker, who had served so long in Kansas Christian College. A year later Rev. Fred Cooper assumed the President's position, and has since continued there. Graduates of this college have become eminent in educational circles of Missouri and other states, and are now in position to serve their alma mater better than formerly. Gradually the financial strength of that institution was increased, until the debt was wiped out near the close of

President John Whitaker's administration. It is now free of debt and has a small endowment. Instruction is given in five departments—preparatory, commercial, normal, scientific and classical, appropriate degrees being granted to students completing courses. The work of Weaubleau Christian College must be pronounced very successful. Twenty-five hundred students have matriculated and pursued full or incomplete courses. It means much to bring such a body of young people temporarily under the influence of Christian educational ideals.

Presidents: John Whitaker, D. D., 1872-1906; O. B. Whitaker, Pd. D., D. D., 1906-1907; Rev. Fred Cooper, M. A., 1907—.

REMOVAL OF CHRISTIAN BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

Stanfordville, N. Y., had become too far removed from the center of denominational life, and sentiment had so changed that city locations were regarded as preferable for educational seats. There were numerous other reasons why removal was urged, and new sites had been offered. Finally a proposal was made to the trustees by the trustees of Defiance College which was eventually accepted, and removal was accomplished in 1907. From 1894 onward the student body at Stanfordville had been small, and friends of the Institute felt that affiliation with some institution of higher learning would tend to increase the number of theological students possessed of thorough preliminary training.

This has been made possible by removal to Defiance and affiliation with the College, while college students have availed themselves of courses in the Institute. Citizens of Defiance raised a fund of ten thousand dollars, which, with proceeds of the Stanfordville property and a contribution of the venerable President, Dr. J. B. Weston, made possible erection of a commodious building called "Weston Hall" to house the Institute. Into its new home the Institute moved in the fall of 1907. Already the number of ministerial students has increased, and further good results are confidently expected.

In 1910 President McReynolds was made President of Christian Biblical Institute, Dr. Weston retaining his post as instructor, and becoming Chancellor of the College. It will require a series of years to work out problems involved by this new location and readjustment. But the outlook is bright. The Institute's assets are nearly one hundred fifty thousand dollars. A larger endowment should be provided that the faculty may be increased.

Presidents: Austin Craig, D. D., 1869-1881; J. B. Weston, D. D., LL. D., 1882-1910; P. W. McReynolds, M. A., D. D., 1910—.

KANSAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

During Dr. Whitaker's term the College fitted literally scores who have won success and honor in the teaching profession. Three graduates have been college presidents, and several have occupied high positions in their county. The whole community has felt the institution's uplifting power.

New departures in the state educational system have militated somewhat against the college latterly. Finances are not in thriving condition, as considerable money had to be spent in renovating the college building and in employing such a faculty as would gain the College state recognition. This is a crisis in this College's life, for which a few men and women have made great sacrifice for more than a quarter of a century. It is to be hoped that endowment funds are forthcoming to perpetuate the good work of Kansas Christian College. Three thousand students have matriculated in twenty years, mostly from western Kansas.

Presidents by terms: Rev. Thomas Bartlett, 1885-1891; Rev. E. Cameron, acting, 1891-1893; O. B. Whitaker, Pd. D., D. D., 1893-1906; Rev. G. R. Stoner, 1906-1910; Rev. C. G. Nelson, 1910—.

ELON COLLEGE

Efforts at building schools in the south have been described in foregoing pages. Here must begin a record of a new and

thriving institution, built with pain and sacrifice. Repeatedly from 1870 and onward expression had been given to need of a college for the denomination's southern branch. The Southern Christian Convention even voted to establish at once such a college, in 1882, on the stock plan, and started the project; but it failed. The Convention of 1886 then voted to establish a theological department in Graham Normal College. The Convention, through its educational committee, leased Graham Normal College in 1887, and a year later held an extra session at Graham and ratified the purchase. Decision to build a college was reached. Possible college sites were canvassed by a provisional board, a board of trustees was elected, and it was decided to locate at Mill Point, in the beautiful hill country of North Carolina, between Burlington and Greensboro. A plot of land containing forty-eight acres was given by W. H. Trollinger, of Haw River, and Mill Point people raised four thousand dollars. Faith saw splendid things in the dense oak forest. The town's name was changed by President Long to Elon, on account of the forest, and in 1889 a charter was obtained from the legislature, and erection of buildings begun. In September, next year, college sessions commenced. Rev. W. S. Long, a man of sterling character and scholarly instincts and attainments, for years a leader in the denomination and thoroughly well known, became first President. Rev. J. P. Barrett was Secretary and General Agent, and F. O. Moring was Treasurer. A faculty was gathered that immediately gave Elon prestige.

Elon's more recent history is an account of continued success and advancement. President W. W. Staley's administration was a fruitful period. The Southern Convention closely followed up its enterprise with grants of money; friends and faculty alike have made sacrifices; until to-day a college of which all may be proud has taken definite form. Moreover, a handsome town has grown up about it.

Hon. F. A. Palmer presented thirty thousand dollars

about 1897, and other friends added to the endowment. In 1904 the College was out of debt, and active canvass was made for an increased endowment. No enterprise of the Christians has more clearly shown the possibilities of concerted action and hearty co-operation. Three commodious brick buildings, an electric light plant, and a beautiful campus, are a good object lesson; and the busy faculty and students speak much more.

President Moffitt's inauguration in 1906 was a brilliant occasion, being participated in by notable people. Success attends the institution unabated, and accumulated influence and power mark its progress. Like several other schools before mentioned Elon gives attention to theological training, for its constituency depends largely upon the College's graduates for its ministers.

Invested funds to the amount of fifty thousand seven hundred dollars are held by the corporation; conferences embraced in the Southern Christian Convention give an equivalent of thirty thousand dollars invested funds annually; and the property is valued at one hundred fifty thousand dollars, making the total assets more than two hundred fifty thousand dollars.

Presidents have been as follows: W. S. Long, D. D., 1890-1894; W. W. Staley, D. D., 1894-1906; Emmett L. Moffitt, M. A., LL. D., 1906-1911; W. A. Harper, M. A., 1911—.

CHRISTIAN CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE

In later years the Correspondence College has not had such patronage as was accorded to it earlier. President Martyn Summerbell recounted reasons for a falling off, at the quadrennial Convention in 1898, suggesting that work might be provided for by local conferences, most of which have a prescribed course of study required of non-academic students before ordination. The Convention replied by continuing the College under direction of Dr. Summerbell, and urging local

conferences to require completion of the study course laid out by the College, or an equivalent, before granting ordination. At the next Convention in 1902, the school's comparative inutility was referred to the Educational Board. Correspondence work was dropped during that quadrennium. After the Convention of 1906 an enlarged correspondence course was laid out, and instruction again offered, Rev. M. W. Baker directing the school; but instruction has not been required.

DEFIANCE COLLEGE

A thriving city of about ten thousand inhabitants is Defiance, situated at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers, in Defiance County, northwestern Ohio. General Anthony Wayne's name is indissolubly connected with its early history, and but recently has the old fort disappeared which commemorated Wayne's famous defiance. But for us the city has interest as seat of Defiance College. This College is an outgrowth of earlier attempts at founding a school there. In March, 1850, the General Assembly of Ohio granted a charter to Defiance Female Seminary, naming five persons who, as trustees, were authorized to establish that school, allowing said trustees to select twelve hundred and eighty acres of unsold state land in Defiance and Paulding counties, to dispose of same and apply the proceeds toward founding the Seminary contemplated. However, the school did not materialize. The legislature, by enactment, in 1864, amended its charter, changing its corporate name and providing for education of both sexes.

Twenty years more passed before the first three-story brick building was erected on the chosen site north of Maumee River, about a mile from the historic fort. In that building in 1884 a select school was kept by R. A. Minckwitz, whose reputation as a scholar, linguist and scientist was more than local.

In later years pupils instructed in that school gained eminence at Bowdoin and Cornell.

Almost incredible changes have taken place about the school grounds. The campus is part of a plain considerably above the business portion of Defiance. Originally it was swampy and heavily wooded, reached by a miry wagon road in front. There are now a few forest trees studding the grounds, (the latter have been drained,) a street well paved, and a campus carefully laid out and beautified.

Normal college work was begun in September, 1885, under Prof. S. F. Hodge, of the State Normal School, Edinboro, Pa., with not to exceed fifty students. Next year a class of eight graduated from the commercial department. Meantime special funds were raised with which a small dormitory was built, but that edifice was destroyed by fire after a few years' use. Under successive presidents the College made fair progress, with added departments and enlarged attendance. And yet there was a fatal drawback—lack of endowment and support. Rev. J. R. H. Latchaw began seven years' presidency in 1895, his incumbency being especially marked by awakened religious life in that institution, resulting in a well-organized working church. He also came into fellowship with the Christian denomination, opening a way for the present Defiance College. The Christian University idea, that evoked so little response in 1894, had only been slumbering, and now awoke. President Latchaw and a few friends fell in with the proposition and agitated for removal of Defiance College to Muncie, Ind., where it might become incorporated with a larger undertaking.

This agitation proved a blessing to Defiance city and College; for influential citizens bestirred themselves, prevented removal, began to realize the school's distressing financial needs, and contributed as they had not hitherto. Changes were made within the corporation, which became Defiance College. Since 1903 both sexes have been pursuing the same courses of study. At this juncture also opportunity was

offered the Christian denomination, especially in Ohio, to finance the College and assume control. To a new board of trustees chosen by the Ohio State Christian Association the former board relinquished rights and title, so that in effect the State Association became the controlling body, signaling its assumption of authority soon after by an endowment of twenty thousand dollars. During Dr. Latchaw's last year, Rev. P. W. McReynolds, formerly the pastor of the Christian Church in Marshall, Mich., became dean of the faculty, and contributed administrative strength to the College. With a new order of things the dean was elected President. He has succeeded in interesting business men and people of means. Hon. Lyman Trowbridge, a leading citizen of Defiance, distinguished himself by benefactions chiefly embodied in a dormitory named "Trowbridge Hall." When that structure was damaged by fire in 1907, Hon. Andrew Carnegie made possible its repair and doubled size.

Two handsome buildings have been added to the college group—a magnificent men's dormitory, opened for occupancy in February, 1911, the gift of Mrs. Ardella B. Engle, of Albany, N. Y., in memory of a beloved sister, Mrs. Anna B. Sisson; and a president's mansion built and given to the College by the family of the late Hon. S. T. Sutphen, distinguished barrister, citizen, and president of the board of trustees, by whose wise counsel and friendship Defiance College has largely benefitted. New departments have been added as demand arose, and the student attendance has increased, high standards of scholarship being maintained. Endowment funds have accumulated until the College and affiliated Biblical Institute represent an investment of half a million dollars.

Religious activity is very pronounced, as might be expected, and offers not only Christian training and development, but the safeguards usually accompanying right religious views and practice. In this respect Defiance is in line with, and not an exception to, all denominational schools of the Christians.

A growing college church, with home not far from the campus, is a valuable adjunct in character formation.

The men who have successively stood at the head of Defiance College and its forerunners are as follows: Prof. R. A. Minckwitz, 1884-1885; Prof. S. F. Hodge, 1885-1886; A. M. Vantine, 1886-1889; James A. Boyce, 1889-1890; I. M. Tucker, Col. A. Grabowski, J. C. McCauley, 1890-1905; J. R. H. Latchaw, D. D., 1895-1902; P. W. McReynolds, M. A., D. D., 1902—.

FRANKLINTON CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

Like other schools mentioned in the foregoing pages, Franklinton has made forward strides since 1894. Courses of instruction followed are academic, normal, English preparatory, third year and scientific preparatory. The library has about two thousand volumes, and under President Long, who has been connected with the College since 1891, the industrial feature has been emphasized. Domestic science and printing have been taught as limited facilities would allow. The present buildings are showing their age, and the location is not ideal. In 1905 a farm of eighty-three acres was purchased a little more than a mile north of town, and is being cleared for cultivation, already yielding a good profit in cotton. Brick have been manufactured there; and it is hoped that eventually the College may be moved to that farm where opportunity for industrial training will be ample, and location nearly ideal.¹ From its inception the school has enrolled more than four thousand eight hundred students. Only a small per cent. have graduated in regular course, but hundreds of common school teachers have been trained, and numerous colored churches have been supplied with intelligent Christian pastors who have organized conferences and put the work for colored people into good shape. Franklinton has become noted for its worthy

¹ Since this was written the Board of Control has been authorized to sell the old buildings, move the College to the farm, and erect new buildings.

achievement in fitting teachers. What it has done for common education and for the colored Christians of the denomination many times over pays for the small outlay in equipment and sustentation of the College. Prof. H. E. Long, the President now, is a man of liberal culture and recognized ability as an educator. Mrs. Long is in every way her husband's equal, and shares with him the burdens and honors of the College. Since 1904 all members of the faculty have been colored men and women.

The principals and presidents have been: Rev. H. E. Long, 1878; Rev. George Young, 1880-1889; Rev. C. A. Beck, 1889-1890; Rev. J. F. Ullery, 1890-1891; Rev. N. Del McReynolds, 1891-1897; Rev. Z. A. Poste, 1897-1904; Rev. H. E. Long, 1904—.

AFFILIATION IN EDUCATION

While Prof. J. N. Dales, of Kingston, Ontario, resided in that city and taught in the government schools, he also encouraged students of the Christian denomination to matriculate at Queen's University, a splendid institution that had rounded the twentieth century with a much enlarged endowment and equipment of brand new buildings. Students so matriculating came under personal supervision and encouragement of Prof. Dales, and formed a little "colony." By this means their denominational loyalty was accentuated and maintained, and the ministry of the Ontario Conference and contiguous territory in the United States benefitted. But in 1906 a more formal affiliation was arranged for with McMaster University,¹ by which Prof. Dales entered its faculty, part of his salary being provided for by McMaster, and part by the Christians of Ontario. The student "colony" was transferred to Toronto. That arrangement has proved beneficial, and students from New England found their way to McMaster, as well as students from the Dominion. At present, however, the Christians have

¹ A Baptist college, in Toronto, which ranks high in the Dominion, and is about enlarging its plant.

no representative on McMaster's faculty, although the students continue their study there.

PALMER UNIVERSITY

When Dr. J. R. H. Latchaw left the presidency of Defiance College, it was to occupy a similar position as head of a new school called Palmer University, located at Muncie, Ind. In that city was a vacant school plant ready for occupancy, and some inducements were offered for establishment in Muncie of the Christian University which had been in the air since 1894. Rev. Thomas M. McWhinney, well known through his connection for years with the church's general enterprises, undertook to raise one hundred thousand dollars for the University, and Hon. Francis A. Palmer was supposed to be pledged for a like amount. The Muncie plant was put into shape for use, a competent faculty of thirteen professors was engaged, and in September, 1902, Palmer University opened for business. A new dormitory was planned and an ambitious program was laid out for students. Dr. McWhinney, perhaps the leading spirit in this enterprise, was Chancellor. The quadrennial Convention of 1902 heartily endorsed the project. But lack of proper maintenance, and Mr. Palmer's death, put an end to Palmer University after a few month's work.

JIREH COLLEGE

This latest member of the college family is part of a plan being executed by a colony of recent settlers in southeastern Wyoming, which plan includes building a town, church, public school and college.

In 1909 and 1910 College Hall was erected, being so far finished that a successful summer school was conducted in it in 1910. Unexpected delays have occurred in completing the building; but meantime an endowment fund has been started and reached hopeful proportions.

Rev. George C. Enders, M. A., B. D., was elected President

in 1909, but resigned the next year. Rev. Wm. Flammer, M. A., B. D., succeeded him, and made a successful canvass for endowment funds. In 1911 Rev. D. B. Atkinson, M. A., B. D., became President, and the College is now in actual operation. An excellent faculty has been chosen from members of the Jireh colony, and instruction is offered in seven departments of learning.

The change of attitude toward education, since Starkey Seminary and Antioch College were founded, is notable in the denomination's history. General appreciation of culture and mental discipline is everywhere apparent; and nothing has contributed more to general advancement than progress in education. And yet men and women of means have been slow to endow the various schools and colleges to any adequate degree.

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER XV

Starkey Seminary Monthly, October, 1900.
Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vols. LXXXVI-CII.
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Special Articles contributed for this work.

CHAPTER XVI

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CONVENTIONS AND GENERAL ENTERPRISES SINCE 1894

THIS chapter must confine itself to events comparatively recent and fresh in people's memory. No history can be quite true and logical, written upon the heels of events; for perspective is lost and the actual outworking of principles and movements cannot be seen from sufficient distance to give them proper proportion. And a mere chronicle of events is tasteless and pointless. But for our purpose a history of sixteen years more will be helpful, since certain actions and institutions have projected themselves past the century mark, and reached much fuller development in the latest period.

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

From Haverhill to Newmarket, a span of four years, the American Christian Convention was working through more departments and getting general interests more fully in hand. Indeed, all the Convention's recent history is record of efforts at readjustment and greater efficiency. The Convention in 1898 was confronted with some doubt as to its corporate standing. At Norfolk a thorough revision of the constitution was adopted, together with articles of re-incorporation.¹ One noteworthy improvement was creation of boards to handle the various departments' business (except that of finance), and the inclusion of Franklinton Christian College under supervision of the Board of Education. This last arrangement was later abandoned. Department enterprises have benefitted by enlarged counsel and supervision. At Newmarket the Convention was almost overwhelming in numbers, and so at

¹ The re-incorporation occurred May 21, 1900.

Norfolk; hence a reduction of the possible number of delegates.

Presidents of all denominational schools, district conventions, state associations and conferences, officers and trustees of the Christian Publishing Association, the editor of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, presidents of woman's boards, officers of the Convention, and members of each of its boards are members of the Convention *ex officio*, in addition to conference delegates, one minister and one layman for each seven hundred church members or major fraction thereof.

The Convention of 1910, at Troy, Ohio, was the greatest ever held by the denomination. All measures adopted in open sessions were calculated to make departments effective. Probably no convention of the Christians has throbbed with missionary fervor equal to that at Troy. An offering for foreign missions of five thousand three hundred fifty dollars and twenty-five cents was the greatest single missionary offering ever gathered by the Christians. There was a manifest desire for less complexity of organization, and a standing committee was raised to reduce to simple harmony the double organization, American Christian Convention and Christian Publishing Association.

Readers will observe that gradually general enterprises are being strengthened through enlarged power granted to the Convention. Doubtless the denominational constituency has been larger in former years than now; but never has the denomination exerted such influence as at present. Fortunately, the feeling of isolation that was inevitable in years of dearth of fellowship with other denominations is giving way, and the Christians are enlisting in inter-denominational enterprises, for moral reform, missions at home and abroad, social service, evangelism, and advancement of all branches of church work. Actual cohesion is nearly realized, although more than one hundred years in coming.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

The Southern Convention has steadily pushed forward its churches and general work. Since Elon College has enabled churches generally to have thoroughly trained ministers, and the Convention to have both trained officers and a homogeneous constituency, progress has been rapid. Elon College has proved a unifying as well as intellectual and spiritual force. Success attended its building from the moment the Convention assumed initiative.

Christian Orphanage.—In a former chapter the Children's work was mentioned, which was first advocated in 1879 by Rev. J. P. Barrett, and was represented by "The Children's Corner" in the *Christian Sun*, Rev. Edwin W. Beale editing the "Corner." Money collected by that means was put into home missions, and helped to establish several churches. After 1886, by vote of the Convention, the Children's work helped to support several ministerial students. Gradually the idea of an orphanage emerged, first in 1892, then clearer in 1894, when a committee was authorized to plan for such a charity and report. Solicitation of funds was begun by the Convention following, and Rev. James L. Foster took the field in 1897. Nine years later he reported a little more than eight thousand dollars gathered. It had been slow work, but the fruitage was sure. The committee, Rev. W. S. Long, Rev. James L. Foster, and Capt. W. J. Lee, secured a charter, purchased a farm of one hundred twelve acres, and erected a brick building thirty-nine by one hundred sixteen feet long, with wing twenty-four by thirty feet. Mr. Foster was chosen Superintendent, assuming his place in 1906. The building will accommodate fifty children. By careful management the farm has been well stocked and greatly improved, much work being done by older orphans. All the boys and girls have Christian nurture and home influences, excellent schooling and church privileges.

The Orphanage is very pleasantly located, south of and not far from Elon College.¹

Christian Sun.—This paper was a private enterprise until the Southern Convention met in 1904. At that date the Convention purchased paper and business, and elected Rev. J. O. Atkinson as editor. The place of publication has several times been changed, but the organ has steadily advocated the Convention's cause, and as steadily gained in usefulness and circulation. Progress of the Christians, South, is largely attributed to the *Sun*.

Sunday-school Progress.—Sunday-schools gained adherence in the South somewhat later than in other sections; but latterly they have received increasing attention, various conferences holding conventions within their own boundaries, resulting in rapid development of Sunday-school ideas and work. The *Young People's Worker*, issued at Richmond, Va., has become mouthpiece of both schools and the Christian Endeavor movement. Convention authorized a committee to prepare and publish teacher training text-books. Two volumes have recently been published, both accepted by the International Sunday School Association, as meeting the required standard for such training work.

Young People's Societies.—Multiplication of Christian Endeavor Societies was endorsed by Convention in 1906, and has later been pushed, much to the profit of churches. Leaders of the young people are enthusiastic in participating in state and more restricted conventions.

Missionary Organization.—It would be difficult to find a people who have more persistently planted new churches and spread into new territory. The local conferences have been so engaged almost from their organization, and systematically since about 1872. During the Convention of 1892 a general society known as the "Christian Missionary Association" was organized, with annual memberships, to further extension in

¹ See *Chris. Sun*, February 22, 1911.

the South. Especial emphasis was placed on entering cities, where quite a number of promising churches have been established. This larger supervision has not lessened conference efforts. But because of the large territory covered, and the cost of gathering for general missionary conventions, the Association has been resolved into several smaller conference bodies organized similarly and for continuance of the work.

Any adequate history of the Southern Christian Convention is a recital of successful undertakings. Through institutions the cause has been made permanent. Seven conferences now compose the Convention, embracing two hundred churches and over twenty thousand members. A Sunday-school enrollment of approximately fifteen thousand is reported.

NEW ENGLAND CHRISTIAN CONVENTION

Recent Ventures.—Money in large sums has been invested in city churches to good advantage. However, progress has been difficult. There has been a decline in a number of churches, and especially because the Christians were a rural people in the East as in the West. In recent years two expedients were tried to recoup lost ground. In the year 1900 a weekly journal named *Christian Messenger* was established. An editorial board and publishing agent guided the paper's course during its six years' existence. Rev. C. J. Jones was elected its first editor-in-chief, but did not serve long. New Bedford, Mass., was the place of publication. When the constituency relied upon for support did not adequately provide, the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* took over the subscription list. The paper met a need and acquitted itself creditably; but it could not live as a beggar.

About the time of this journalistic venture, a field secretary was appointed to travel in New England to weld together the loosely organized churches, and to strengthen weaker ones. The late Rev. M. W. Borthwick did memorable work in that capacity, and was later succeeded by Rev. A. H. Morrill.

But after three or four years the secretaryship was abandoned. Very little new territory has been acquired by the New England Convention in recent years.

LOCAL CONFERENCES

As in the preceding period, there have been many readjustments among local conferences. Some territory has been better occupied, and some new territory has been gained. New conferences were organized in Northern Texas, Indian Territory (including some Texas churches), Maine (combining Eastern and Central Conferences), Northeastern Ohio, Southwestern Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Western North Carolina, Southwestern Missouri (Ozark region), Western Washington, Mouse River country in North Dakota, the Ohio Valley; and readjustments resulted in new conferences in Northwestern Ohio, and perhaps other sections. In general conferences have become more effective and better organized, more addicted to business and less given to oratory. Many pages might be given to interesting conference sketches; but the limited scope of this work precludes that possibility. Some conferences are as distinctive as individuals, and throughout the denomination their names are usually coupled with their distinctive traits.

The Ontario Christian Conference, in Canada, bears a strong individuality in all its work. Thoroughly homogeneous and coherent, sturdy and steadfast in position, the Ontario Christians press their own cause in their own way. They are strictly immersionists as regards baptism, "progressive conservatives" in theology. Most of their ground-gaining expansive efforts were prior to 1850, when there were two conferences in the Province and considerable activity among churches. Since that time comparatively few churches have been formed, although the later few are very substantial and promising. This conference has conducted home mission work within its own borders systematically for a number of years.

have been pastored and much of the time every church has had pastoral care, a very commendable feature in church work. Readers of this history will recall that men from New York and New England went across the Canadian line and assisted in founding the denomination in the Provinces. Eventually, however, a very strong, capable ministry grew up in Ontario—men who were trained, men who could lead, men who could be relied upon. The cause immediately responded to their efforts. Some account of attempts to found papers in the Canadian Conference has been given, including the final establishment, in January, 1890, of the *Christian Magazine*, now called the *Christian Vanguard*. Establishment of this paper, together with an affiliation educational effort, and founding of two or three strong home mission churches, has given the Canadian Christians a new impulse.

COLORED CHRISTIAN CONFERENCES

A new conference of colored churches was organized in 1909, in North Carolina, called Lincoln Colored Christian Conference. During the years of this period progress continued in church growth, education, effective work for moral reforms and general uplift of the colored people. Several attempts have been made at journalism among them. In the nineties, a paper was published at Newport News, Va., called *Christian Visitor*. At Franklinton, N. C., two papers, called respectively *Christian Ark* and *Christian Monitor*, were published for some time. In 1909 *The Echo* was begun at Graham, North Carolina, issued monthly under supervision of a board of directors; Rev. J. C. Core and Rev. J. H. McBroom editors. About six months earlier, the *Union Christian Star* was established at Henderson, North Carolina, also a monthly, edited by Rev. J. A. Henderson and assistants, being organ of the Afro-Christian Convention. In 1908 union was effected between the Afro-Christian Convention and the colored Methodist Protestants, South, the name assumed after union being "Afro-

Union Christian Convention." But the churches united seem to have fallen back to their respective denominations.

Numerical Increase.—Latest statistics give one hundred twenty-four churches, one hundred fourteen ministers, eight thousand five hundred members. This shows some increase over government census figures published in 1906, at which time only seven thousand five hundred forty-five members were reported. The government also enumerated eighty-eight Sunday-schools with four thousand pupils, ninety-one church edifices, valued at sixty-nine thousand five hundred five dollars, with only two thousand four hundred sixty dollars debt. Within a few years church properties have been added which would increase totals above named.

South American Mission.—In the year 1909, Revs. S. A. Howell and N. E. Higgs, of Virginia, were commissioned by their Convention to organize a Christian work for some years in progress in British Guiana, South America. That work largely grew out of efforts by Joseph A. Johnson, of Albuoystown, a part of the city of Georgetown, County of Demerara, British Guiana. Proceeding to South America, Mr. Howell and Mr. Higgs inspected the work begun, organized three churches, ordained Mr. Johnson, licensed five preachers, constituted a Demerara Christian Conference, formed a West Indian Christian Church in the Barbadoes Islands, thus beginning a larger work which should become part of the Afro-Christian Convention. The colored churches and conferences have not yet realized their strength and ability, but many signs indicate that greater prosperity lies just before them.

HOME MISSIONS

Until 1886, when the Mission Board became thoroughly organized, home missions had the right of way. In former chapters we have traced home mission enterprises and growth, showing a large amount of activity. We have also given some account of what was formerly called the Children's Mission,

which began organized home mission work, with its center in Dr. Watson's study. But with the Mission Board's organization, the Children's Mission lessened its activity and gradually began to disappear, finally losing all its interests in the Mission Board when that was incorporated in 1898.

Home Mission Activity.—Few people realize how much home mission activity there was in those years. First, the Mission Board was starting churches and Sunday-schools through home missionary pastors, using general mission funds; secondly, there were conference missionary societies at work within conference bounds, establishing new churches and furnishing pastors for otherwise pastorless churches; third, there were district organizations, like the New England Convention, which operated through its co-ordinate Missionary Society, and the Southern Christian Convention, latterly working through its Missionary Association; fourth, there were conference women's boards after 1890, promoting home missionary interests, and gathering home mission funds for general home missionary work; fifth, there were auxiliary or local missionary societies articulated to the conference woman's boards. During all these years money was being raised in response to calls emanating from the general Convention officers, or from conference authorities, supplemented by money raised through the woman's boards and missionary associations. Children's Day had come to be thoroughly established as a home mission day, when funds were gathered especially for home mission enterprises. In sketches of the New England Convention and Southern Christian Convention enough has already been said to indicate the range of other local missionary work. A little more should be said of the general home missionary work.

Forces and Fields.—From 1878 to 1882 the average home missionary force employed was twenty-three men, who worked in many different states of the Union as follows: Maine, Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, Virginia, North Carolina, West Virginia,

Kentucky, Missouri, Texas, and Ontario Province in Canada.

Home mission funds for this quadrennium amounted to a little more than six thousand dollars. From 1882 to 1886 there were twenty-two missionaries in the field, operating in the states above mentioned, with the addition of Iowa, South Dakota and Massachusetts. These missionaries, during the first eight years, had gathered one hundred four churches, established one hundred thirty-seven Sunday-schools, and enrolled five thousand three hundred six church members. The total funds received for the quadrennium closing 1886 were ten thousand nine hundred four dollars and forty-eight cents.¹ For the quadrennium closing 1890, home mission funds received amounted to almost seventeen thousand dollars. The average missionary force kept at work was twenty-two, in eighteen states; although all told nearly seventy different workers served the home mission cause. No new states were entered during this period. For the next four years the home missionary force averaged about as formerly, and gathered three thousand six hundred members into churches. The funds had grown to nearly seventeen thousand three hundred dollars. After another four years we find that forty-two different points had been aided with home mission funds, two thousand six hundred five having been received into churches, and that work under supervision of conferences was being fostered. About this time the Osage Conference, in Missouri, the Northern Texas, Northwestern Arkansas, Iowa and Kansas State Conferences, together with some older organizations, were being helped in planting churches within their bounds. In October, 1902, home mission funds for four years had amounted to twenty thousand five hundred dollars, which money had been invested in twenty-two states or territories, aiding forty-six mission points, resulting in forty-six organized churches and thirty Sunday-schools, and enrollment of one thousand one hundred

¹ See Convention minutes.

ninety-six church members. Two new conferences had grown out of this missionary planting.

Into the City.—About this time insistent demands were made that more city work should be undertaken. In response to that demand, during the quadrennium closing 1906, fourteen cities of more than fifteen thousand inhabitants had been entered, five of them state or provincial capitals, and work had been prosecuted in twenty different states. Church members gathered in this quadrennium, one thousand six hundred thirty-two; churches organized, twenty-eight; Sunday-schools organized, forty-two. The work continued at the same rate during the closing quadrennium of this period, except that missionary funds had very much increased. Figures have been given in this brief survey to afford readers definite data regarding the progress of home missions, so far as the Mission Board and the American Christian Convention's home missionary work were concerned. However, many of the points aided were also conference missionary stations, and received aid from both sources.

In the Far West.—Between 1898 and 1902 a considerable work was begun in the state of Colorado, including such points as Garfield, Antler, Rifle, Divide Creek and perhaps a few other school-house appointments. For some time Rev. T. W. Howard conducted the Colorado mission. Meantime, in the state of Washington, Rev. Harvey Fry, a man well along in years, but still hale and vigorous, was traveling from place to place through the virgin forests of that state, teaching and organizing churches, the result of which was a conference in the state of Washington. The conference in northwestern North Dakota was due chiefly to the Mission Board's plans for enlarging denominational borders. A number of members of Christian churches had settled in North Dakota and created some interest in the Christian cause. Mrs. Vina B. Wilgus had been preaching there and organized a church. Through her representations the Mission Board saw large possibilities, and sent

a missionary to that field, also giving Mrs. Wilgus an appointment. A little group of churches resulted, which were soon organized into a conference called Mouse River, and later Northwestern North Dakota Christian Conference.

The story of the Christians in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and parts of Texas adjoining Indian Territory, is very interesting. Heroic work was done by pioneer preachers in those sections. One may consult files of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* and *Christian Missionary* for reports of men at the front. It is sufficient here to show how much was being done in actual home missionary work, which was partly lost to view because the Mission Board and its work were attracting greater attention.

In Canada.—A little should be said perhaps, of the Ontario Christian Conference. By its agency, assisted with general mission funds, a church was planted in the city of Toronto, in the year 1899, where a neat little chapel has been erected, and a good constituency has been found. Five years later an excellent church was planted at Stouffville. These points, with other weaker churches, have been jealously fostered. No conference has been more generous with its home mission charges than this conference. More recently, co-operating again with the general Mission Board, a work was undertaken in Saskatchewan, Canada, with the intention of founding churches in that new and rapidly developing country. The Woman's Board has been a very strong factor in this conference for creation of missionary zeal, and raising of mission funds.

City Churches Built.—Churches have been maintained or established during the past thirty years in probably a hundred different towns and cities, some of which have grown very rapidly and added much strength to the denomination. Others have not fared equally well, meeting with unforeseen obstacles. We may indicate the following home mission fields: Augusta and Bangor, Maine; Manchester, New Hampshire; New Bedford and Fall River, Massachusetts; Toronto, Canada; Newark.

and Binghamton, New York; Knoxville, Erie and Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; Norfolk, Berkley, and Newport News, in Virginia; Graham, Raleigh, and Greensboro, in North Carolina; Marshall, Michigan; Columbus, Lima, Springfield and Dayton, Ohio; Muncie and Indianapolis, Indiana; Beloit, Wis.; Urbana and Danville, Ill.; Lake City and Des Moines, Iowa; St. Louis and St. Joseph, Missouri. These are more important points, while several scores of smaller towns might be mentioned. No means are at hand for estimating the true value of the expenditure of time, money and effort represented by churches and conferences in the foregoing account. That the denomination is richer none can doubt.¹

Newest Field.—The newest territorial expansion has been by the "Wyoming Colony," a group of homesteaders and others who located in Converse County, southeastern Wyoming, in 1908. A well-defined plan has characterized this colonization: a company secured land for a town site and platted it in 1908, fixing the initial price on lots at a figure to attract desirable citizens. The homesteaders round about are interested in the town, which has been named Jireh, and the colony seems to have well established itself.

This part of Wyoming is elevated, with atmosphere dry and invigorating, and cultivation of the soil is by the "dry farming" method.

In June, 1909, the Wyoming Christian Conference was organized, Rev. D. B. Atkinson, President, Rev. W. A. Freeman, Secretary. Six ministers and two licentiates were enrolled. One organized church exists in Jireh; and several Sunday-schools have been maintained at nearby points, where the various ministers conduct Sunday services. A grant of missionary funds will enable Conference to systematize its work and found stable churches.

¹ See Ap., p. 301.

NEW MISSIONARY DEPARTURES

Resuming our thread of narrative at the denominational century mark, we find many items and events worthy of record; but details cannot here be enumerated. There have been: increase in the number of commissioned missionaries, growth within each field, one field added, development of mission schools, great missionary gatherings at home, and change in home administration.

A home for missionaries was purchased with money raised by the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Conference, in Tokyo in 1895, and the Mission's headquarters have naturally been located there since. A second home was erected in Sendai, where the Frys had resided several years. It was completed during their furlough in America in 1902 and 1903; but when they returned to Japan they located at Utsunomiya, between Tokyo and Sendai, and hence did not live in the new home. But they had joy in building a third missionary residence in the strongly anti-Christian city of Utsunomiya in 1905, where they still reside and work. The second church building was erected in Tokyo in 1902, and a third in Sendai in 1909, a parsonage accompanying the latter. Urgent reasons demand small church buildings in several other cities or large towns. The Mission's total property valuation in Japan approximates fifteen thousand dollars. More property might have been secured, had not Japanese laws banned ownership by foreigners until quite recently. By modification of laws, holding corporations were allowed, and the Japan Mission formed such a corporation, composed of missionaries and Japanese, to hold and manage property above described.

Missionary Recruits.—Further recruits for the field were: Miss Alice M. True, of Massachusetts, 1898; Rev. and Mrs. E. K. McCord, of New Hampshire, 1901; Rev. and Mrs. C. P. Garman, of Ohio, 1906. Four regular stations are now occupied by missionaries, namely, Tokyo, Utsunomiya, Sendai, and Ishinomaki; and from those vantage points nearly thirty out-

stations are worked. Thirteen organized churches have been gathered in as many cities. Thirty-four Sunday-schools are maintained by the Mission and its workers, enrolling nearly twenty-five hundred members. The total church membership in 1911 was eight hundred eighty. One congregation, that in Tokyo, has reached the point of self-support. Five Christian Endeavor Societies were also reported in 1911. The Japan Christian Conference was organized in 1901, officered and conducted by Japanese Christians. Of late years the Conference has manifested considerable strength and initiative.

An event of more than passing moment to the Japan Mission was the Mission Secretary's visit. Secretary J. G. Bishop and Mrs. Bishop made a missionary tour in 1902, inspecting the field and assisting in various ways. Knowledge gained by actual contact with Japanese conditions and Christian workers and missionaries has been of inestimable value in all subsequent plans for the Mission.

Educational Work.—When Dr. Woodworth began his second term, in 1903, it was with a commission to develop a training school for Japanese pastors. He modeled largely after the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, and conducted the Tokyo Bible Training School in the missionary residence, where some successful pastors have been trained. For a time Bible women were fitted in the same school; but with Miss Penrod's withdrawal, the School confined its attention to men. In 1907 a dormitory was built adjoining the mission home, by private capital, and is rented to the Mission as a home for theological students.

One night after service Dr. Woodworth and a Japanese student stood for a few minutes under an umbrella in the rain, while the latter was urged to become a Christian. That convert was Saburo Koshiba, one of two Japanese quite well known among the Christians of America; for he came to this country and spent seven years acquiring an education, first at Union Christian College, then at Oberlin Seminary, and finally

at Yale Divinity School. Upon his return to Japan in 1909 he was engaged on the faculty of the Tokyo Bible Training School, and that institution broadened its curriculum to the usual standard and became Tokyo Christian Theological School, with a regular faculty of three professors. The number of students has been small, because few Christian young men have education requisite for straight theological training.

A Girls' School.—At the Quadrennial Convention of 1906 was present Mrs. Mina Kitamura, a Christian Japanese woman who had been in this country several years receiving an education at Union Christian and Defiance Colleges. She was then ready to return to Japan and engage in teaching. The Convention caught fire when a Christian girls' school for Japan was proposed, raised a considerable sum of money for Mrs. Kitamura's return to her native land, and recommended to the Mission Board the matter of schools in Japan. Miss Alice True, missionary to Japan, urged forward the girls' school idea, and later raised considerable money for building purposes. An interested layman promised a good sum annually toward school support. When the Mission Board convened for annual session it authorized the Japan Mission to open a school for girls, a very modest sum of money being provided. Accordingly the Utsunomiya Christian Girls' School was opened April, 1907, in an old Japanese house in Utsunomiya, with four pupils and three Japanese teachers, Mrs. Susie V. Fry being principal. Missionaries of another denomination withdrew from the city the next year, and their large residence, partly foreign and partly Japanese, was secured for school purposes. It has been several times enlarged, and houses now thirty-eight people. In 1911 school attendance was about thirty-two young ladies. No one could have prophesied what an evangelistic power this school would develop; but the young ladies conducted eight Sunday-schools in that garrison city, which is more hostile to Christianity because large numbers of soldiers live there.

A full four years' academic course mapped out on distinctly Christian lines has been taught. April is the month of school beginnings in Japan. However, largely for financial reasons, the Mission Board, at its session in October, 1911, decided to discontinue the school.

A New Mission Field.—During the Newmarket, Ontario, sessions of the American Christian Convention, an Armenian named Rev. M. G. Alexanian explained the desperate needs of his people growing out of the horrible massacres then recently perpetrated upon them. Considerable numbers of Armenians were refugees, some congregated on the island of Cyprus. For these especially Mr. Alexanian besought missionary aid, and was employed to travel and solicit funds with a view to opening missionary work among them. For about three years funds were being gathered, and then the Board thought to undertake the projected mission. However, as pressing need in Cyprus had passed, thought was turned toward Armenia, and a committee waited on the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to learn actual needs and conditions in Armenia. It appeared unadvisable for the Christians, with exceedingly limited means, to enter that field. Rev. H. J. Rhodes, former missionary to Japan, and Rev. and Mrs. D. P. Barrett, of Virginia, were already under missionary appointment. An extra session of the Board was called at New York, and after mature deliberation, resolved to begin missionary operations in Porto Rico, where missions were then being established, the island having two years before come under United States control. Accordingly a farewell service was held in the Christian church at Brooklyn, New York, and the missionaries sailed away for Porto Rico. And thus was added a second field of denominational missionary operations abroad.

Mr. Rhodes came home at the end of a year, and Rev. T. E. White, of North Carolina, and Miss Jennie Mishler, of Illinois, were sent to help in the work. The field apportioned

to the Christians lies along the south side of the island, from a little west of Ponce to a point eastward between Salinas and Guayama. At first a day school was conducted in Ponce; but the rapid advance of public schools made missionary schools of grammar grade unnecessary; and since that effort has been directed mostly to evangelistic work.

A church building was erected in Salinas in 1907, dedicated in February next year. A neat chapel has been built in Arus, and in Santa Isabel the mission owns a large but poor building which furnishes a missionary residence, and rooms for a medical dispensary, and for religious services. The Porto Rico Christian Conference, organized in 1906,¹ has also erected a little chapel in Canas, a suburb of Ponce; while the people of Manzanilla and Las Mareas have co-operated in securing thatched buildings where Christian services are held at stated seasons. The Board's property in Porto Rico is valued at about eight thousand dollars. Three stations have resident missionaries, Ponce, Santa Isabel, and Salinas; fifteen outstations have services, and organized churches exist at points just named, and Arus—four in all, with one hundred eighty-three members. Eight Sunday-schools have an enrollment of five hundred or more members. Two Christian Endeavor Societies were reported in 1911. The Mission Secretary has thrice visited Porto Rico to gather information and assist in the work.

Returns for effort and money expended in that island have been quick and surprising. Probably no equal expenditure of effort and money in America by the denomination has brought results comparable with achievements in Japan and Porto Rico.

Missionary Conferences.—Turning now to the home base, we trace events briefly. At the annual Mission Board session, October, 1900, Rev. W. H. Denison, Recording Secretary, proposed holding an international missionary conference, to include the Christians of Canada and the United States. This

¹ January 27, 1906. Chris. Miss., April, 1906.

proposal was favorably regarded, October 16, 1901, being set for opening such a gathering. A committee to arrange program and other details was selected, and membership was defined. Rev. Horace Mann, pastor at Piqua, Ohio, and his people offered to entertain the conference, and their tender was accepted. A strong program was prepared, the gathering was widely advertised and awakened considerable interest. Complete success crowned the First International Missionary Conference of the Christians, over two hundred delegates attending, who represented seven colleges, thirteen states, Ontario, and Japan. Large audiences were present.

Demand seemed to require a second Conference, which was accordingly arranged for and held at Farmland, Indiana, beginning October 12, 1904. Delegations and audiences were not so large as at Piqua, but probably the actual educational value of the second Conference exceeded that of the first. These two popular meetings have helped in awakening missionary zeal and calling attention to the world's need of evangelization.

Board Enlarged.—For several years the burden of annual Mission Board sessions had been felt too heavily, and enlargement of the Board was desired. The Norfolk quadrennial elected nine board members, thus distributing the burden more widely. Four years later Convention elected two secretaries, one to look after church home missions, the other to look after foreign; but a single board controls both kinds of work.

Considering how late the denomination launched into missionary work in earnest and systematically, we must pronounce the progress made quite satisfactory.

NEW PUBLISHING PLANT

After the old publishing plant had been disposed of, The Christian Publishing Association began an era of prosperity, during which its business increased, and its financial standing and integrity were recovered. Its business was variously housed in Dayton. At last a building owned by the Associa-

tion was determined upon. Propositions from cities other than Dayton were alluring and were considered, but finally in the year 1904 the trustees appointed Hon. O. W. Whitelock, Judge I. H. Gray, and Rev. D. M. Helfenstein, a committee to select and purchase a site and thereon to erect a new building. In April they bought a lot at the intersection of Fifth and Ludlow Streets, Dayton. Soon afterward plans for a building were secured and erection of a structure begun, embracing four stories and a basement. Jasper N. Hess, Publishing Agent, superintended construction. The Publishing Association and Mission Department of the Convention are quartered on the fourth floor; the Convention Secretary has his rooms on the second floor; and the printing department, in which the Association has a partnership, occupies most of the basement. Renters occupy three stores and several office suites. This new building was dedicated June 22, 1905, excursions being run to Dayton from different directions and the occasion being made one of great rejoicing. Each succeeding year shows the wisdom of building. Business is steadily increasing. January 1, 1912, the Association's net assets were \$137,063.83. The *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, the *Christian Missionary*, Sunday-school papers and lesson quarterlies, are regularly printed here; and a large assortment of books, Bibles, and Sunday-school supplies is carried in stock.

Thus the interests of the Eastern Christian Publishing Association and the Western Christian Book Association have grown into the much larger business of The Christian Publishing Association.

FRANCIS ASBURY PALMER FUND

Francis A. Palmer associated a number of persons with himself, and in 1897 they formed a corporation, under laws of the State of New York, called "Francis Asbury Palmer Fund," for the following purposes: "For the advancement and support of home missions and educational institutions; to assist

evangelical churches, missions, schools and associations; to assist Christian ministers and workers; to help needy persons desiring to become Christian ministers, teachers, or workers to acquire a suitable training and education, and to establish in colleges and schools Bible teachers and lectures; and to acquire, to hold, and to dispose of such personal and real property as the said purposes of the corporation shall require." The corporation's operations were to be principally conducted in the State of New York, but might be extended throughout the United States and Dominion of Canada. In New York City was to be said corporation's principal office and a board of fifteen directors was to conduct business, Mr. Palmer himself being one. Money and property administered were in the first instance donated by Mr. Palmer; and at his death, in 1902, about one million five hundred thousand dollars was left for the Fund by his will. Litigation reduced that sum to a little less than a million dollars, which has for several years been yielding an income judiciously distributed for purposes designated. Palmer Institute-Starkey Seminary has been a beneficiary, and other colleges and enterprises have had substantial help. The board of trustees was, by the founder's will, divided between the Christian denomination, which has a majority, and other denominations.

AGED MINISTERS' HOME

This benevolent enterprise is directly under care of the American Christian Convention, and hence deserves a place in history. The governing body is styled "Board of Control," and is elected quadrennially.

Rev. P. R. Sellon and his wife Lois L. conceived the idea of an Aged Ministers' Home, but did not carry it into effect at once. After Mr. Sellon's death, Mrs. Sellon began active effort with intention of making the home a memorial to her late husband. She agitated the matter in Castile, N. Y., her home, and at conference sessions held in New York.

Finally a few interested parties met at West Henrietta, a few miles south of Rochester, at the home of James S. Frost, in March, 1894, organized, adopted by-laws, and elected officers for a holding corporation. Rev. Latham Coffin was chosen President, Rev. B. S. Crosby, Secretary, and James S. Frost, Treasurer. Mrs. Sellon continued to raise funds, and in 1895 a little more than sixteen hundred dollars was in hand. F. A. Palmer, who figures so often in denominational history, gave an endowment of ten thousand dollars.

The corporation then purchased property in Castile and fitted up a home, the same year receiving Rev. B. S. Fanton and wife as the first inmates. Mr. Palmer again assisted in 1897, making some needed improvements. Again, two years later, an addition had to be built to the home, and similar aid was forthcoming. Mrs. Sellon herself acted as matron until her death, and since that time usually a husband and wife are employed to care for the home and its inmates. Up to 1908 eight deserving elderly people had passed their declining days in the retirement and delightful home atmosphere of this shelter.

There being no longer a trustee resident in Castile, it was decided to remove to Lakemont, New York, a place suitable for many reasons. Property was purchased close to the old Seminary buildings, which is but a few minutes' walk from the church, and which overlooks Palmer Institute-Starkey Seminary, beautiful Seneca Lake, and equally beautiful fertile farms stretching away miles eastward from the eastern lake shore. Hardly anything is lacking now to make this home desirable, except the presence of relatives and old familiar surroundings.

Small additions have been made to its endowment, but the home is not quite supported by its income. Applicants for admission must be ministers in good standing (no denominational lines being drawn), who have been in the ministry for twenty years and are fifty years of age. Ministers' wives and

widows may also gain admission. An admission fee of one hundred fifty dollars for each man, and one hundred dollars for each woman, is required. With increased funds the Aged Ministers' Home should continue its loving ministrations to an increased number of otherwise homeless but deserving saints.

RELIGIOUS JOURNALISM'S FIRST CENTURY

The printer's art has ramified into modern life to almost inconceivable extent and detail. Journalism has leaped into every sphere and exploited every phrase of life and thought. Religion, and especially the Christian religion, has profited immensely by printing and the journalist's profession. A century of religious journalism has reflected and directly promoted transformations in the church and manner of expression of Christianity quite as wonderful in their way as have been witnessed in scientific and economic movements. Perhaps it is more wonderful still that as an idea the *religious newspaper* was conceived and realized but a trifle more than one hundred years ago. Hence a double anniversary occurred in 1908—the centenary anniversary of religious journalism and of the first religious newspaper. Foregoing pages have narrated the founding and early years of fitful migratory life of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Elias Smith's shaft of truth and organ of propagandism, first issued and sent on its mission from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 1, 1808; and have traced its course down the century. Why it survived, while so many other similar organs perished or were absorbed, let the knowing explain.

Recognizing that so uncommon a birthday anniversary should be duly observed, The Christian Publishing Association arranged to celebrate the completion of one hundred years of religious journalism and a like number of life for the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, by appropriate exercises in modern Portsmouth, a century removed from persecutions, mobs, attempted

violence and blazing hatred witnessed by Puritan Portsmouth when Smith began to publish his paper.

Hon. O. W. Whitelock, of Huntington, Indiana, President of The Christian Publishing Association, presided over the centennial exercises, which began Tuesday evening, September 15, in Court Street Christian Church, closing in the same place Thursday afternoon, intervening sessions having been held in Methodist, Universalist, Congregational and Unitarian churches. Rev. Carlyle Summerbell, served as Secretary of the sessions.¹

Hearty welcome was accorded visitors by Portsmouth citizens and pastors, Mayor Hon. Wallace Hackett speaking in their behalf. At least ten denominations were represented, and journalists of those denominations as follows shared in the program which discussed interesting phases of religious journalism or gave historical accounts of religious papers: S. D. Gordon, representing the *Sunday School Times*, of Philadelphia; Amos R. Wells, versatile managing editor of the *Christian Endeavor World*, Boston; Rev. G. C. Waterman, the *Morning Star*, Boston; Rev. Joseph S. Swain, *The Watchman*, Boston; Rev. A. J. Northrup, *Zion's Herald*, Boston; Rev. Alfred Gooding, representing the *Christian Register*, Boston; Rev. Anson Titus, of the Universalist Historical Society. A number of speakers from the Christian denomination added their contributions to the occasion. Rev. D. B. Atkinson read an admirably compact history of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*.

Immediately after this celebration, addresses and minutes, and a bibliography of Elias Smith's published works, were issued under caption of "Modern Light Bearers," edited by Rev. J. P. Barrett, also editor of the paper whose hundredth anniversary was observed. Another volume, "The Centennial of Religious Journalism," was issued in honor of

¹ Chairman Whitelock, Revs. T. S. Weeks, D. D., then of Troy, Ohio, W. W. Staley, D. D., Suffolk, Virginia; A. H. Morrill, D. D., Laconia, New Hampshire; and D. B. Atkinson, M. A., Jireh, Wyoming, were the arrangements committee.

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the anniversary. So that paper has started well on its second century, more vigorous than ever, and, judged by fallible human standards, surer of prolonged existence than at any time hitherto. Perhaps some day records and files will be searched for accurate indication of how great a part the young, yet venerable, *Herald* has played in building the cause of the people called simply Christians, and in piloting them along a way beset with no less dangers than loomed before the man hasting toward the celestial city, in Bunyan's immortal allegory.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS AND CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR

A final word should be spoken of these two invaluable church assets. As yet no departmental organization has fairly gripped the churches' ebullient young life in Bible school or in young people's society, to train young hearts and heads and hands for Christian service. Promoters of Sunday-school work must yet be put into the field, and a young people's leader must be raised up. The Christians have contributed to the Sunday-school movement Marion Lawrance and W. C. Pearce, but have saved no such men for their own fields; they have helped to make Amos R. Wells the greatest of Christian Endeavor editors, but have no like man serving their own youth exclusively. Within a few years many schools have caught newer visions of service and are fully abreast of other denominations in use of modern methods. The recent quadrennial convention recognized their partial advance, and took action looking toward uniform future progress. But of this some future historian must write.

Christian Endeavor has declined since 1894, and now there are probably less than two hundred fifty societies. The South is thoroughly awake to many advantages of organizing its young people for definite pledged service; and perhaps that awakening may stimulate interest in other sections. Here again the historian must not become prophet.

MORAL REFORMS

Anti-Slavery.—Only passing mention has been made of the stand taken by this denomination on great moral issues and reforms. More specific statements are demanded, perhaps, that readers may not be misled. From the denomination's inception its leaders spoke out against slavery. James O'Kelly wrote a pamphlet opposing ownership of human beings. Barton W. Stone abjured it and influenced relatives to liberate their slaves; David Purviance did not keep slaves or employ slave help, because he believed human rights forbade men to make chattels of their fellows; William Kinkade was second to no man in Illinois in securing a state constitution forever banning slavery; and as time wore on conferences in the north declared themselves unalterably opposed to the African slave traffic and its concomitants. Northern periodicals maintained constant agitation against it. And finally the issue came squarely before the General Conference at Cincinnati, cleaving the denomination in twain. Still northern pulpit and press and conference continued to denounce, often with language intemperate and bitterer than should have been employed in stigmatizing their brethren in the South. When finally the struggle was over and peace prevailed, no Christian people hailed the event with greater joy, realizing that human liberty had won national recognition, although at fearful cost.

The Liquor Traffic.—Again, from the first the Christians have been temperance reformers. No denominational ministry in America has more consistently fought the liquor traffic and intemperance. Abner Jones early declared himself a teetotaler; William Kinkade advocated complete prohibition of liquor manufacture; Mark Fernald, that eccentric New England preacher, struck sledge-hammer blows at cider and rum drinking wherever he preached; Joseph Badger's early experiences made him an inveterate enemy of intoxicants; I. N. Walter actively forwarded the pledge-signing crusade.

Here too the press entered the contest, from Elias Smith's day forward, and never has ceased to hate and oppose alcoholic drinking, the modern saloon, and the brewery. Under Dr. T. M. McWhinney's editorship the *Herald* became notorious for its temperance advocacy. Other periodicals, North and South, have not lagged behind in this great reform movement.

National or sectional leaders in the crusade against liquor often remark what splendid co-operation they receive from ministers of the Christian denomination. And well they may; for hostility to the greatest foe confronting American society and Christianity is "bred in the bone" of the Christian Church's ministry. Perhaps that breeding and the church's general attitude are best reflected in a thrilling story, entitled "Herbert Brown," written by Dr. O. B. Whitaker, a foremost minister and college president of the Christians.

Equality of Woman.—The Christians are said to have been the first in modern times to ordain women to the gospel ministry. Mrs. Melissa Terrell, now of California, was formally ordained in 1867.¹ But as early as 1812 women preachers were working and highly esteemed among the Christians. Mrs. Abigail Roberts, of New York, and Rev. H. Lizzie Haley, of Massachusetts, were very remarkable evangelists in their time in the East; and competent judges regard Miss Haley as the best evangelist they have ever known. This encouragement of women preachers has helped to give women equal standing with men in all church and denominational work, and unquestionably has caused the church to look with favor upon some movements for enfranchising women and allowing them equality with men in civil affairs.²

RECENT STATISTICS

In closing this history some late reliable statistics are presented. "The Christian Annual" for 1898 credited the denom-

¹ At Ebenezer Chapel, Clark Co., Ohio, by Rev. Messrs. Mark D. Briney, E. W. Humphreys, and N. Dawson. The Deer Creek Conference is said to have been divided because of this act. ² See Centennial of Religious Journalism for extensive sketch of women's standing among the Christians.

ination that year with 1,391 ministers, 1,424 churches, a membership of 107,868, 1,259 Sunday-schools, and 428 Christian Endeavor Societies. These figures only approximate the correct totals. Government statistics are the latest approximation.¹ The Christians are credited with 1,379 churches, 110,117 members, 1,253 church edifices valued at \$2,740,322, 1,149 Sunday-schools, in which are gathered 83,473 pupils. On this basis the Christians ranked sixteenth in numerical strength among religious bodies in the United States. Of course a Canadian contingent was not included in those figures, and there are reasons to suspect other omissions. The Ontario Conference had 1,110 members in 1906.

Geographical distribution is indicated by the census report, as follows: North Atlantic Division, 17,682; South Atlantic Division, 25,591; North Central Division, 62,330; South Central Division, 4,393; Western Division, 121. By states, Ohio had 24,706; Indiana, 21,397; North Carolina, 15,909, and the balance was distributed in smaller numbers in many states.

CONCLUSION

To interested readers much of the history recorded in this volume will be of superlative interest. Perhaps casual readers may better appreciate the motive and position of the people who have been misunderstood, lost sight of, and scorned because of their singularity in abjuring sectarianism, sectarian names and party cries, preferring to be called simply Christians, to resort to the Bible alone for doctrine and church government; and who have steadfastly refrained from building a great organization or formulating dogmas. The event has proved the feasibility of maintaining a vital Christianity on those simple grounds. Readers of these pages will doubtless be prompted to many queries, and may find ready answers in the facts and their logic herein contained. Most readers will involuntarily wonder, What of the future? Let them read the

¹ Bureau of the Census: Religious Bodies, 1906.

past, look at the present, and do their own forecasting. This body is now better organized and better equipped with institutions, than ever. The personnel of its ministry never was so good, and its resources have amassed beyond expectation. It once occupied the van in advance church movements in America; it is again swinging into current movements and assuming its responsibility. These are the facts.

As these closing words are written, the clouds in the sky, the mild air, early bird songs, bursting buds, and springing vegetation, give evidence of approaching spring and fruitful summer. The Christians have had many a halcyon spring-time, and now there is glorious promise. Is it too much to hope that, as they close this volume, readers may lift a prayer that the glorious promise may be realized in actual fruitage for the Kingdom of Heaven?

SOURCES FOR CHAPTER XVI

Records of the American Christian Convention, for 1898, 1902, 1906, and 1910.

Minutes of the Southern Christian Convention for the period.

Annual of the Christian Church (South), 1895-1910.

Reports of Elon Christian Orphanage, Rev. J. L. Foster, Superintendent.

Records of the New England Christian Convention for the period.

Christian Year Book, 1894-1896.

Christian Annual, 1897-1910.

Centennial of Religious Journalism, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D.

Christian Missionary, Vols. I-XVI.

Herald of Gospel Liberty, Vols. LXXXVI-CII.

Christian Sun, especially issues for December 21, 1910, January 11, February 8 and 22, 1911.

News and Observer, Raleigh, N. C., for May 3, 1906.

Report of First International Missionary Conference, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D., 1901.

Report of Second International Missionary Conference, in Christian Missionary, November, 1904.

Modern Light Bearers, edited by J. P. Barrett, D. D., being a report of the proceedings attending the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Religious Journalism, 1908.

Bureau of the Census: Religious Bodies, 1906.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

(Additional Matter)

CHAPTER II

Page 78—

"An enquiry began to be instituted by the churches generally, as by common impulse, into the cause of the great spiritual delinquencies that prevailed among them; and at the same time to ascertain if practicable a remedy for the moral malady that so sorely afflicted them."—Purviance, p. 296.

"In the meantime ministers of the gospel had become greatly awakened to the discharge of their holy functions—their discourses were more clear and practical, and of consequence, far more interesting and effectual.....The dogmas and speculations of the sects were now in but little request, even among the clergy. Themes of much more noble character inspired their hearts.....These remarks apply to the denominations generally; more especially, however, to the Presbyterian church, in the bosom of which the writer was born and raised.....The interest for the Bible and the religion it teaches augmented daily, and the moral tension of the public mind was now wound up to a high stage. When early in the month of April of the year in question, a phenomenon in the religious history of the west made its appearance in the south of Kentucky, more than one hundred miles from Cane Ridge."—*Ibid.*, p. 297.

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"The established opinion in the churches had been that the Scriptures, explained according to sound reason and philosophy, was light sufficient; and simply to believe what we were thus taught, was the highest evidence we could have of the truth of spiritual things. But *these* [the first subjects of the revival] adopted a very different faith, and taught, as an important truth, that the will of God was made manifest to each individual who honestly sought after it, by an inward light, which shone in the heart. Hence they received the name of *New-Lights*." "This division in sentiments, with its concomitant effects, drew together a vast multitude out of different churches, who formed a general communion, and for a time acceded to the doctrines, manner of worship, etc., first opened and practiced among the *New-Lights*, a

brief sketch of which is as follows, viz.: That all creeds, confessions, forms of worship, and rules of government, invented by men, ought to be laid aside, especially the distinguishing doctrines of Calvin. That all who received the true light of the Spirit in the inner man, and faithfully followed it, would naturally see eye to eye, and understand the things of the Spirit alike, without any written tenet or learned expositor. That all who received this true light, would plainly see the purity of God—the depravity of man—the necessity of a new birth, and of a sinless life and conversation to evidence it. That God was no respecter of persons—willeth the salvation of all souls—has opened a door of salvation, through Christ, for all—will have all invited to enter; and such as refuse to come must blame themselves for their own perdition.”—McNemar, pp. 29, 30. Compare with this Stone, pp. 38, 44, 45, and Purviance, p. 300.

“As to worship, they allowed each one to worship God agreeably to their own feelings, whatever impressions or consciousness of duty they were under; . . . and hence, so wide a door was opened, and such a variety of exercises were exhibited at their public meetings. All distinctions of names was laid aside, and it was no matter what any one had been called before, if now he stood in the present light and felt his heart glow with love to the souls of men; he was welcome to sing, pray, or call sinners to repentance. Neither was there any distinction, as to age, sex, color, or anything of a temporary nature; old and young, male and female, black and white, had equal privilege to minister the light which they had received, in whatever way the Spirit directed. And it was, moreover, generally considered that such as professed to stand in the light, and were not actively engaged, some way or other, in time of public meeting, were already dead weights upon the cause.”—McNemar, p. 31.

CHAPTER III

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Backus' Works: The Doctrine of Sovereign Grace Opened and Vindicated, by Isaac Backus, Pastor of a church in Middleborough, (Mass.) John Carter, Providence, R. I., 1771. Backus was a very prominent Baptist minister. In an appendix to the works above named he says: “I am far from desiring any to follow the most eminent fathers any further than they followed Christ; but as I fully believe that these fathers did so, in the doctrine of sovereign grace, in *overcoming evil with good*, and in maintaining a friendly correspondence with pious people of other denominations, while they still kept to this one princi-

ple, for each one to worship God according to the light of his own conscience; who can justly blame this attempt to promote these generous principles, which I would thankfully acknowledge are of late, in a considerable measure, revived in their children?"—Pp. xi-xii.

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John Wesley wrote:

"Bristol, September 10, 1784. To Dr. Coke, Francis Asbury, and our Brethren in North America."

Closing the letter he says:

"As our American brethren are now totally disentangled from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church; and we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free."—Chris. Pall., Vol. IV, p. 81.

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"Glorious News from Massachusetts!! Church and State Unyoked: or the Priests of Baal left to Themselves."

Then follow short comments on "An Act Respecting Public Worship and Religious Freedom," passed by the Massachusetts legislature, and approved June 13, 1811.

That act put a stop to general taxation for support of an established church, and allowed any man to turn his money to the support of his own denomination or society; provided a form of certificate for members of such denominations or societies; and put all ministers on an equality of regular exemption from taxation.—H. G. L., Vol. III, p. 302.

CHAPTER IV

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William Gulrey, writing to Elias Smith, early in 1809, says: "Your allusion to the building of the wall, in the days of Nehemiah, is beautiful and correct; for each man did build the wall before his own house. Our brethren in Virginia, and in the lower part of North Carolina, and in South Carolina, in Kentucky, and in Philadelphia, builded without knowing any other persons were engaged in the work; they were entirely ignorant of each other, and our brethren in New England builded with-

out knowing anything of the brethren in the south. 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes.' This subject is worthy to exercise the talents of an Addison, a Pope, or a Curran. By traveling so extensively through the southern states, I have seen several of those walls joined. I saw the wall built by the brethren in Virginia joined by the wall built by the brethren in South Carolina. This wall I afterward saw united to the wall built by the brethren in North Carolina. And the wall built by the brethren in Philadelphia I saw united to the wall built in the South."—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 65.

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See diagram inserted opposite this page.

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In 1809 a communication was sent from ministers of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina to brethren in New England, saying that they stood on the same platform. The letter contained ample expression of good will, and was signed by Wm. Glendenning, James Jackson, Wm. Gulrey, Thomas E. Jeter, Joseph H. Bland, T. Ray (South Carolina), Henry Hays, Geo. Wilkins, James Hays, Elias Evans, Joseph Thomas, John Sled, Walter Chustean, Joseph Hatchett, Wm. More, Phillip Vass, John Hays. It was answered in similar vein by the New England brethren through a committee consisting of Wm. Ramzey, Uriah Smith and Elias Cobb. This is a sample of the manner of correspondence between the two sections.—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 87.

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William Gulrey wrote from Virginia: "We have members in every state south of the Potomac, also a few churches in Pennsylvania. From the best information I can obtain, I suppose there are about twenty thousand people in the southern and western states who call themselves by the Christian name."—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 43.

William Lanhier wrote from northern Virginia the same year: "We are numerous and spread through Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and some few in Pennsylvania."—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 32.

1890

1900

1910

Parties

Southern Christian Conv.

(Ontario)
 Christian Magazine (Christian Vanguard)
 Ontario Conference

Association

(Mass.)
 Christian Messenger
 NE. Christian Convention

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Jonathan Foster wrote in 1809 from northern Virginia saying: "In the states of Kentucky and Ohio, thousands are coming into it [Christian Church]. In the lower parts of Virginia there has already been a blessed revival. In New Alexandria the church is prospering; in the state of Pennsylvania the flame is rapidly spreading; in Maryland I understand the church is beginning to look up."—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 47.

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"In the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and I believe in Ohio, and Tennessee, Christian societies are raised, who have introduced Gospel order among themselves, that is, have taken the Scriptures only as their sole rule of faith and practice, and acknowledge no other head but Jesus, through whose merits they preach a free salvation for all men; they have a number of eminent ministers among them. They acknowledge no name but that of Christian; and what is the most extraordinary circumstance respecting them and what I believe they may challenge the records of every period of the annals of time to exhibit its equal, is, numbers of them, agreeably to the best information I have, originated nearly at the same time. I am credibly informed they were formed into a religious compact without any knowledge whatever of each other; and what adds still to the phenomenon (if I may call it so) is, they have embraced the same sentiments and adopted the same mode in every particular, which go almost directly to destroy ecclesiastical and every species of religious tyranny, and to establish in the room thereof a primitive or apostolical form of Church Government."—Jonathan Foster, in H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 27.

"Then in the first place, I have been a member for twelve years past of a society that distinguishes itself by the name of "The Christian Church." We own no head or lawgiver besides Jesus Christ, consequently no laws in matters of religion besides *the Holy Scriptures*. We have but two orders of church officers; Elders and Deacons; the business of the first is to preach the word of life, and to take care to feed the flock of Christ; of these, some travel and others are stationary. The latter are appointed to attend to the temporal concerns of the church. Our preachers and members are all on an equality. All the affairs of the church are administered by a majority of preachers and members. We believe in the universality of the atonement, in the efficacy and necessity of the Holy Ghost in order to conversion." "We believe that party names engender party animosities, and that the most and only proper name for the followers of Christ is *Christians*. That all other

names either given or assumed are nick-names and serves only as a rallying point for party spirit." "If you will *please* to give me the information requested, I will immediately print it and spread it through all the aforesaid states. If I have not mistaken as to your order, I think the Christian Church in this part of the United States would rejoice to give you the right hand of fellowship."—William Lanphier, H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 32.

"7. I would propose to promote Christian union by the following method, viz.: Let the *Presbyterians* lay aside the book called the confession of faith,

"8. Which faith, is proposed to ministers before they are received; and instead thereof, present the Holy Bible to the minister who offers himself as a fellow-labourer.

"9. Let him be asked if he believes that all things requisite and necessary for the church to believe and obey, are already recorded by inspired men.

"10. Let the *Baptists* open a more charitable door and receive to their communion those of a Christian life and experience; and they themselves eat bread with their father's children.

"11. Let my offended brethren, the *Methodists*, lay aside their book of discipline, and abide by the government laid down by the apostles—seeing those rules of faith and practice were given from above,

"12. And answer for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.—II Tim. 3:16, 17.

"13. What more does the church need, than is above inserted? Let their *Episcopal dignity* submit to Christ, who is the head and only head of his church; and then we as brethren will walk together, and follow God as dear children.

"14. O, how this would convince the world that we were true men, and not speculators.—This would give satan an incurable wound; and make *deism* ashamed.

"15. Again as each church is called by a different name, suppose we dissolve those unscriptural names, and for peace' sake call ourselves Christians! This would be—"The Christian Church".—James O'Kelly, in H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 39.

Extracts from a letter from the Ministers of the Christian Churches at the Southward, dated May 27, 1809.

"Brethren—From our beloved brother *Frederick Plummer* we have received such information of you as causes our souls to rejoice and

induces us in this manner to express our sentiments. We are informed that you receive CHRIST as ONLY HEAD OR KING of the church, to the exclusion of *Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops*, or any body of men invested with legislative authority for the church of God. We believe that one head is sufficient for one body, and more heads than one would make any being a monster. The church is said to be the 'body of Christ' and Christ the 'head of the body.' We rejoice that the government is on the shoulders of the *Saviour*, and cannot forbear to express our joy that a people exist in New England, who like us have rejected human heads, and cheerfully submitted to the authority of Christ alone.

"In consequence of your receiving Christ as only head and ruler of his church, it necessarily follows, that *his laws as contained in the New Testament*, should be received without any addition, abridgment, alterations, or embellishments, to the exclusion of all articles of religion, confessions of faith, creeds, etc., etc., etc., composed by men. That the *New Testament* is alone sufficient for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, is a sentiment in which we are confirmed; and experience has taught us to believe, that, like its author it is perfect, for it answers every purpose to promote the peace, happiness and prosperity of the church of *Christ*, and has a direct tendency to prevent those jars and contentions which always have, and always will attend imperfect human productions.

"We are informed that like us, you have rejected all other names by which you may be designated as a religious body, but the *Christian*. This is a matter of great joy to us, because it is the name by which the primitive disciples of Christ were first known in Antioch. We also conceive it a proper name given by the Holy Spirit to the Church which is said to be the Lamb's wife, consequently should be called by his name."—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 87.

Extracts from a letter by the Elders of the Christian Churches, in the New England States, assembled at Portsmouth, N. H., June 23, 1809.

"Beloved Brethren in Christ Jesus our Glorious Lord:

Your epistle dated May 27th, was received by us with the same spirit of love by which it was dictated; and it rejoices our hearts, that there are such a number of our brethren in the Southern States, who receive Christ as only *King and Head* of his Church, to the exclusion of *Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Arch-Bishops*, or any body of men invested with legislative authority for the Church of God.

"We understand according to the New Testament, that the Church is the 'Body of Christ' and Christ the 'Head of the Body,' and we praise our God that he has given *Jesus* a '*leader and commander to the people*;' that 'the government is upon his shoulder;' that we have a *lawgiver* who is able to save us, for 'there is *one* lawgiver who is able to save and to destroy;' we therefore have, and do reject all *human heads, laws, articles of religion, confessions of faith, disciplines, creeds, catechisms, etc., etc., etc.*, which have been invented by men, not only because they are the foundation of the unhappy disputes which have arisen among the children of God, and a lessening of the divine authority of our master Jesus to command us in all things; but because we find his law perfect in all things and sure, a 'perfect law of liberty,' not of bondage—yes brethren, liberty to obey him in all things, whose yoke is easy, and whose burden is light."

"We feel willing with you, yea, we rejoice to take the despised name of *Christians*, because the Church which is the *Lamb's wife* should be called by his name. 'He was despised and rejected of men' and 'the servant should not be above his master'."—H. G. L., Vol. I, p. 95.

Writing from Jacksonville, Ill., January 4, 1838, Stone said:

"I approve my course in rejecting all authoritative creeds, and of withdrawing my influence from building up any party-establishment of Christians on earth.....

"I approve of my choice in taking the Bible alone as the foundation of my faith and practice; and to meet all Christians on this broad platform without regard to diversity of opinions, if that opinion were not of a demoralizing nature and tendency.....

"I approve of my course in laboring to rescue the truth from the rubbish of tradition, long heaped upon it by the folly of erring men.....

"I most heartily approve of my course in so strenuously advocating the doctrine that immersion is not the *sine qua non* of Christianity. . . . I am glad to find that brother A. Campbell has come out fully in advocating and defending the same doctrine (vid. Mill. Harb., September and December Nos.).—Chris. Pall., Vol. VI, pp. 315, 316.

CHAPTER V

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There are several dates of organization given to some conferences, and the following lists are probably not accurate, but only approximate.

They are given more to show readers where conferences were organized than to establish the dates.

Kentucky	1804
Deer Creek, Ohio	1807 or 1808
Virginia	1814
Wabash, Indiana	1817
Wabash, Illinois	1818
New York	1818
Virginia	1818
Maine	1818
Mad River (now Miami Ohio)	1819
New York Eastern	1820
New York Western	1820
New Hampshire	1820
Vermont	1820
Southern Ohio	1820
Connecticut	1821
Athens, Ohio, before	1823
Norfolk, Virginia, before	1823
Massachusetts (re-organized 1835)	1823
Central Indiana	1824
Upper Canada (now Ontario)	1825
North Carolina and Virginia	1825
New York Central	1827
Rhode Island and Connecticut	1827
Salt Creek, Ohio, about	1827
New York and Erie (now called Erie)	1829
Sunbury, Ohio (now Ohio Central)	1829
North Carolina	1830
Union Christian (part of Kentucky and Indiana)	1830
New Jersey	1830
Cole Creek (now Western Indiana)	1830
New York Northern	1831
Rockingham	1832
Strafford	1832
Merrimac	1832
New Brunswick	1832
Eastern North Carolina	1832
Maine divided into three conferences about	1832

CHAPTER VI

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We find record of "elders' conferences," almost invariably held in connection with "general meetings," as follows:

- 1809 Portsmouth, N. H.
- 1810 Bradford, Vt., and Sandwich, N. H.
- 1812 Candia, N. H., and Woodstock, Vt.
- 1813 New Bedford, Mass.
- 1814 Hardwick, Vt., and Cumberland, R. I.
- 1815 Danville and Bradford, Vt., Freetown, Mass., and Windham Conn.
- 1816 Hampton, Conn., Farmington, Candia and Deerfield, N. H.
- 1817 New Bedford, Mass., the first delegated conference, composed of elders and laymen; and Portsmouth, N. H., soon afterward.
- 1818 Hartwick, N. Y., Gilmanton and Meredith, N. H. The Hartwick was the first regularly organized conference of elders and church delegates in the North.

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Following is a list of the years and places of meeting of the United States Christian Conference, and its successors, from 1820 to 1910:

- 1820 Windham, Conn.
- 1821 New Bedford, Mass.
- 1822 Greenville, N. Y. At some sessions there were 4,000 present, the meetings being held in a grove.
- 1823 Freetown (Assonet), Mass.
- 1824 Freedom, N. Y.
- 1825 Beekman, N. Y.
- 1826 Windham, Conn.
- 1827 West Bloomfield, N. Y.
- 1828 No session.
- 1829 New York City.
- 1830 No session.
- 1831 New York City, Christian General Book Association being formed.
- 1832 Milan, N. Y., when Conference was dissolved.
- 1833 New York City, an informal conference, calling another meeting later for purpose of re-organization.
- 1833 Milan, N. Y., Conference re-organized.
- 1834 Union Mills, N. Y., to meet once in four years thereafter.
- 1838 New York City.

- 1842 Stafford, N. Y.
- 1846 Union Mills, N. Y.
- 1850 Marlon, N. Y., an epoch-making session.
- 1854 Cincinnati, Ohio, where the division over slavery occurred.
- 1858 New York City.
- 1862 Medway, N. Y.
- 1866 Marshall, Mich.
- 1870 Oshawa, Canada.
- 1874 Stanfordville, N. Y.
- 1878 Franklin, Ohio.
- 1882 Albany, N. Y.
- 1886 New Bedford, Mass.
- 1890 Marlon, Ind.
- 1894 Haverhill, Mass.
- 1898 Newmarket, Canada.
- 1902 Norfolk, Va.
- 1906 Huntington, Ind.
- 1910 Troy, Ohio.

The following named persons have been president and secretary respectively of the General Conference or Convention of the denomination, for the terms indicated. Some sessions were served by two secretaries.

- 1819 _____, Robert Foster.
- 1820 Rev. Benjamin Taylor, Robert Foster.
- 1821 Rev. John Rand, Robert Foster.
- 1822 Rev. Mark Fernald, Robert Foster.
- 1823 Rev. Daniel Hix, Robert Foster.
- 1824 Rev. John Spoor, Jr., Rev. John L. Peavey.
- 1826 Rev. Hervey Sullings, Robert Foster.
- 1827 Rev. Hervey Sullings, Rev. David Millard (pro tem.).
- 1829 Rev. David Millard. _____
- 1831 Rev. Simon Clough, Robert Foster.
- 1832 Rev. Abner Jones, Rev. Joseph Badger.
- 1833 Rev. William Lane, Rev. J. V. Himes and Rev. Jasper Hazen.
- 1834 Rev. Frederick Plummer, Rev. Simon Clough and Rev. David Millard.
- 1838 Rev. I. N. Walter, Rev. Jasper Hazen and Rev. Oliver Barr.
- 1842 Rev. Jasper Hazen, Rev. John Ross and Rev. Lyman Perry.
- 1846 Rev. Elijah Shaw, Rev. John Ross and Rev. W. R. Stowe.
- 1850 Rev. D. P. Pike, J. R. Freese, M. D.

- 1854 R. P. Stebbins, D. D., N. Summerbell, D. D., and Rev. C. Dearing.
 1858 Rev. I. H. Coe, N. Summerbell, D. D.
 1862 Rev. Amasa Stanton, Rev. D. W. Moore.
 1866 Rev. D. P. Pike, N. Summerbell, D. D.
 1870 Rev. I. H. Coe, J. J. Summerbell, D. D.
 1874 Rev. I. H. Coe, J. J. Summerbell, D. D.
 1878 Rev. A. W. Coan, J. J. Summerbell, D. D.
 1882 Rev. J. W. Osborne, J. J. Summerbell, D. D.
 1886 D. A. Long, LL. D., J. J. Summerbell, D. D.
 1890 D. A. Long, LL. D., J. J. Summerbell, D. D.
 1894 A. H. Morrill, D. D., J. F. Burnett, D. D.
 1898 O. W. Powers, D. D., J. F. Burnett, D. D.
 1902 O. W. Powers, D. D., J. F. Burnett, D. D.
 1906 W. D. Samuel, D. D., J. F. Burnett, D. D.
 1910 W. D. Samuel, D. D., J. F. Burnett, D. D.
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Here is inserted for convenience in reference a list of the editors of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, with their terms of service.

- Elias Smith, 1808-1817.
 Robert Foster, 1817-1835.
 Elijah Shaw, 1835-1840.
 Elijah Shaw, David Millard (part of term), P. R. Russell, 1840-1850.
 Jasper Hazen. Elijah Shaw, 1850-1851.
 D. P. Pike. A. G. Morton. Elijah Shaw, Oliver Barr. J. B. Weston, O. J. Wait, Austin Craig, 1851-1856. (Some of these men did not serve all the time.)
 B. F. Carter, Charles Bryant, 1856-1862.
 D. P. Pike, J. W. Hayley, 1862-1868.
 H. Y. Rush, D. P. Pike (part of time), O. J. Wait, 1868-1876.
 N. Summerbell, 1877-1878.
 T. M. McWhinney, 1878-1880.
 T. M. McWhinney, J. B. Weston, Asa W. Coan, 1880-1881.
 A. W. Coan, 1881-1885.
 C. J. Jones, 1885-1888.
 J. P. Watson, 1888-1893.
 J. P. Watson, G. D. Black, 1893.
 J. P. Watson, 1893-1894.
 J. J. Summerbell, 1895-1906.
 J. P. Barrett, 1907-.

In most cases the first-named person was editor-in-chief, and the other persons named were his associates.

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The editors and their terms of service, for the *Christian Palladium*, were as follows:

Joseph Badger, 1832-1839.
Joseph Marsh, 1839-1843.
Joseph Marsh, John Ross, Oliver Barr, 1843-1844.
Jasper Hazen, John Ross, Oliver Barr, 1844-1845.
Jasper Hazen, John Ross, 1845-1846.
Jasper Hazen, 1846-1854.
Moses Cummings, I. C. Goff, 1855-1857.
Moses Cummings, 1858-1861.

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Following are the names of the editors and their terms of service for the *Gospel Herald*:

Isaac N. Walter, 1843-1846.
James Williamson, J. W. Marvin, 1846-1850.
James Williamson, 1850-1856.
James Williamson, James Maple, 1856-1858.
John Ellis, H. T. Buff, 1859-1862.
John Ellis, Mrs. C. D. Ellis, 1862-1864.
E. W. Humphreys, J. T. Lynn, 1864-1865.
H. Y. Rush, 1865-1867.

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The editors and their terms of service, for the *Christian Sun*, have been as follows:

D. W. Kerr, 1844-1850.
H. B. Hays, 1850-1854.
W. B. Wellons, 1854-1876.
J. T. Whitley, 1876-1878.
J. P. Barrett, 1878-1881.
W. T. Walker, 1881-1882.
J. P. Barrett, 1882-1891.
W. G. Clements, 1891-1894.
E. L. Moffitt, 1894-1898.
J. O. Atkinson, 1898-.

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Rev. Reuben Potter, of Warren; R. I., in 1823 published for one year the *Gospel Palladium*. Rev. Jasper Hazen, then residing in Woodstock, Vermont, began to publish the *Gospel Banner* in 1826, abandoning the publication after one year. Rev. E. B. Rollins, of Braintree, Vermont, published the *Bethlehem Star* for one year, commencing in 1824. Once more Rollins of Braintree established a paper, this time a semi-monthly called *Christian Luminary*, associating with himself in that venture J. P. Hendee; but in 1835 this light was drawn into a larger orb and became part of the *Christian Palladium*.

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A fuller description of some of the volumes mentioned, with others not mentioned, is as follows:

A Dictionary of the New Testament, by Elias Smith. Printed and sold by the Author. Philadelphia, Pa., 1812. Revised and enlarged by Robert Foster, with a life of Christ and the Apostles. Christian Herald Office, Portsmouth, N. H., 1832.

Illustration of the Prophecies, by Elias Smith. Printed by Norris & Sawyer, for the Author. Exeter, N. H., 1808.

The True Messiah, by David Millard. Published by J. D. Bemis & Co., Canandaigua, N. Y., 1823.

The True Believer's Defence, by Rev. Charles Morgridge, Minister of First Christian Church, New Bedford, Mass. Benjamin H. Greene, Boston, Mass., 1837.

Letters to a Universalist, by Philemon R. Russell. Published by D. P. Pike & Co., Newburyport, Mass., third edition, 1848.

A volume unique among publications issued by members of the Christian denomination is, *The Mission of Christ*, by Philemon R. Russell, then Pastor of First Christian Church, Fall River, Mass. Published at the Christian Herald Office, Exeter, N. H., 1842. This was a life of Christ.

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Hymns, Original and Selected, by Abner Jones and Elias Smith. Published at Portland, Me., 1805. The seventh edition was printed in 1816.

Same by Robert Foster. Printed at Christian Herald Office, Portsmouth, N. H., 1825. New edition, 1826.

Hymns and Spiritual Songs, by David Millard and Joseph Badger.

Published in 1830. An edition by the Christian General Book Association, Union Mills, N. Y., 1838.

A Choice Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, compiled by John Mackenzie, John Rand, Benjamin Putnam, Christopher Martin, and Jasper Hazen. Published by David Watson, Woodstock, Vt., 1819.

The Christian Psalmist, by S. Clough, Wm. Lane, F. Plummer, I. C. Goff and J. McKeen. Published by James Kay, Jr., & Bro., Philadelphia, and John I. Kay & Co., Pittsburgh, Pa., 1836. Also edition by Moses Cummings, Irvington, N. J., 1856.

Somewhat later than the above were:

Christian Harp, by B. F. Carter, E. Edmunds, and J. B. Weston. Compiled by request of the New England Christian Convention. Published at Newburyport and Boston, Mass., and Portland, Me. Second edition, 1853. Eleventh edition, revised and enlarged. 1870.

Christian Hymn Book, by E. Edmunds, T. C. Moulton, D. P. Pike. Published in 1863. Edition by The Christian Publishing Association, Dayton, Ohio, 1869.

CHAPTER VII

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"There is some doubt as to the exact date on which Raikes started his Sunday-school, but assuming that it was in 1781, there were certainly four, and perhaps five, Sunday-schools in this country before that date, viz.: at Roxbury, Mass., 1674; at Newtown, L. I., 1683; at Ephrata, Pa., 1740; at Bethlehem, Conn., 1740, and at Philadelphia, Pa., 1744. The Ephrata school was interrupted after the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, in order that the school room might be used as a hospital for the wounded American soldiers."—Records of the Ohio S. S. Ass'n., 1887 and 1891.

CHAPTER VIII

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Following are the names and dates so far as have been ascertained of organization of conferences during the years 1833-1849:

Philadelphia	1833
Southern Wabash, Illinois	1833
Southern Illinois	1833
Pennsylvania	1834
Michigan	1834
Boston	1834

Rhode Island and Massachusetts	1835
Maine Eastern	1836
Maine Western	1836
Western New Jersey	1836
Indiana Central	1837
Western New Jersey Christian Association	1837
Valley of Virginia	1838
Auglaize (Northwestern Ohio)	1838
Eastern Conference of Upper Canada, before	1838
Ohio Eastern	1839
Indiana Bluffton	1839
Union, Ohio, about	1839
Spoon River, Northwestern Illinois	1839
Michigan Eastern	1840
Northern Illinois and Wisconsin	1840
Vermont Western	1840
Vermont Eastern	1841
Illinois Union (Pike County)	1841
Western Michigan	1841
Prairie Creek, about	1841
Mt. Vernon	1842
Huron, Ohio	1842
La Porte, Northwestern Indiana	1842
Western Reserve, Ohio	1843
Monday Creek, Ohio, about	1843
York and Cumberland	1844
Tippecanoe, Indiana	1844
Eel River, Indiana	1844
Tioga River, New York and Pennsylvania	1844
Iowa Christian Conference	1845
Gallia, Ohio	?
Black River, New York	1845
New England Christian Convention	1845
Ray's Hill, Pennsylvania	1846
Iowa Christian Conference	1846
Indiana Union	1846
Southern Christian Association	1847
Mt. Gilead, northern Ohio	1848
Southeastern Michigan	1849
Northern Wisconsin	1849
Virginia Central	1849
Wyandot, Ohio	1849

CHAPTER X

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The principles adopted were formulated as follows:

1. The Lord Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church.
 2. The name Christian to the exclusion of all party or sectarian names.
 3. The Holy Bible, or the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, our only Creed or Confession of Faith.
 4. Christian character, or vital piety, the only test of fellowship and church membership.
 5. The right of private judgment and liberty of conscience the privilege and duty of all.—See Minutes of 1866.
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Still another venture in New England was *The Living Christian*, to be issued by a Christian Publishing Company formed in Providence, R. I. This was projected by committees of the New England Christian Convention and the New York Eastern Christian Conference. The first issue bore date of January, 1873. Rev. Daniel Schindler was editor-in-chief, and was an able writer. Rev. A. W. Coan acted as publishing agent, and the paper was printed in an office located in the old railroad station in Providence. The subscription list is said to have been about 2,000, with 700 subscribers in the city of publication. Plans contemplated too expensive a paper, however, and publication was suspended after about six months.

In New York state Rev. I. C. Tryon began to publish *The Christian Church*, in January, 1877, and issued it monthly nearly a year; the place of publication being Eddytown (now Lakemont), N. Y., and the journal containing sixteen pages, six and one-half by nine and three-quarters inches. Then he changed the name to *Christian Palladium*, perhaps thinking to make the paper eventually a worthy successor to the old *Palladium*. Both these periodicals were tastily gotten up, and showed considerable editorial ability and some originality. But support was not forthcoming, and issue ceased.

Spirit and Life: A Christian Magazine, was begun at Yellow Springs, Ohio, October, 1890. Rev. Geo. D. Black was editor, and Rev. C. W. Garoutte, publisher. However, before the first volume closed, Rev. Albert Dunlap took Mr. Garoutte's place as publisher. An editorial staff was created to conduct the second volume, Rev. D. A. Long, D. D., being editor-in-chief, and Rev. G. D. Black, Prof. Amos R. Wells, Rev. Martyn Summerbell, D. D., Rev. G. B. Merritt, Rev. L. J. Aldrich, and

Rev. H. J. Stockard, associates. Rev. C. W. Choate was publisher and business manager. The magazine was an attempt to furnish a medium for exchange of ideas concerning Christian life and work, upon a plane of literary merit and scholarship which could not be otherwise attained, and was decidedly creditable. Subscription price, \$1.00 a year. Publication was suspended at the end of the second volume.

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In 1873 the redoubtable Rev. Matthew Gardner, of Ohio, undertook *The Christian Reviewer* as a quarterly, printed by The Christian Publishing Association, Dayton, Ohio, for free distribution. He seems to have had no intention beyond publishing matter which had been refused admission to the denominational organ.

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Occupying a distinct field was the Christian Publication Society, formed in 1856, at Irvington, N. J., by representatives of six eastern states. The denomination then had no Sunday-school literature or books; and this Society was designed to issue tracts for general distribution, Sunday-school books, and other needful publications. Rev. I. C. Goff was the first President, Rev. P. Roberts, Secretary, and Rev. Austin Craig, Treasurer. A few tracts were issued, *c. g.*, a series called "Common Sense Tract." New series, No. 7, was "The Missionary and Indian," by Elder David Millard. But the Society did not long continue.

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They were distributed as follows:

Ohio	228
Indiana	194
New York	149
Iowa	132
Illinois	105
Pennsylvania	66

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Following are given the names and dates of conferences organized during this period:

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Northwestern Ohio and Southeastern Michigan	1850
Grand River Valley, Michigan	1850
Indiana Central (consolidated with Indiana Union)	1850
New York Southern	1852
Indiana Miami Reserve	1852
Little Wild Cat, Indiana	1852
Western Indiana (consolidation)	1852
Central Illinois	1852
Aroostook Branch of Maine Eastern	1853
Western Iowa (later Des Moines)	1853
Passamaquoddy, Maine	1854
Killbuck, Indiana	1855
Michigan State Christian Conference	1854
Georgia and Alabama	1854
Michigan Association	1855
Southern Christian Convention	1856
Antioch, Indiana	1856
Fox River, Indiana and Illinois	1856
Fort Des Moines (formerly Western Iowa)	1856
Western Illinois	1857
Northwestern Iowa	1857
Union Miami Reserve, Indiana	1857
Ohio	1857
Otsego, New York, before	1857
Antioch, Indiana, united with Bluffton later	1857
Union Christian (Iowa)	1857
Rock Creek, Iowa	1858
Central Iowa (made out of Rock Creek)	1858
Schoharie County, New York, before	1858
Maumee Valley, Ohio before	1859
Northwestern Ohio (formed of Maumee and Auglaize)	1859
Southwestern Iowa	1861
Union Christian, southeastern Indiana	1863
Michigan Association	1864
Southern Indiana and Illinois	1864
Western North Carolina	1854
Deep River, North Carolina	1865
New York State Association	1866
Ohio State Association	1866
Richland Union, Wisconsin	1866
Mazon River, Illinois	1866
Jacksonville, Illinois	1866

Northeastern Iowa, before	1866
Osage, Missouri	1866
Grant County, Indiana	1867
Indiana Central	1867
North Missouri	1867
Western North Carolina (colored)	1867
Western Pennsylvania	1870
Northeastern Kansas	1871
Kentucky, Second District	1871
Kentucky, First District	1871
Antioch, Iowa	1872
Iowa State Conference	1872
Northeastern Michigan	?
Virginia Colored	1873
Northeastern Missouri	?
Monongahela Valley, Pennsylvania	1875
Michigan Conference (Incorporated)	1875
North Missouri	1876
Nebraska	1876
Eastern Kansas (formerly Southeastern)	1876
Indiana State Conference	1877
Southern Kansas	1877

CHAPTER XI

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We give below the names and dates of some early missionary societies of the denomination:

SECTIONAL

New England Christian Missionary Society	1845
New England Home and Foreign Missionary Society	1845
Southern Christian Home Missionary Society	1858

STATE

Massachusetts Christian Benevolent Society	1833
New Hampshire Christian Benevolent Society	1835
Ohio (Domestic) Missionary Society	1845

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CONFERENCE

Rhode Island and Massachusetts Christian Benevolent Society	1838
New York Central Conference Home Missionary Society	1840
Erie Conference Home Missionary Society	1840
Michigan Home Missionary Society	1840
Northern Illinois and Wisconsin Conference Home Missionary Society, about	1843
Northern New York Conference Home Missionary Society	1843
Eastern Michigan Conference Home Missionary Society	1843
Western Missionary and Benevolent Society (Clinton and Ionia Counties, Michigan)	1844
New York Eastern Benevolent and Missionary Society	1844
New York Western Conference Home Missionary Society	1844
Massachusetts and Rhode Island Domestic Missionary Society	1845
Cole Creek (Ind.) Conference Domestic Missionary Society, about	1845
Southern Ohio Conference Home Church Missionary Society	1850
Pennsylvania Conference Missionary Society	1851
North Carolina and Virginia Home Missionary Society	1856
New Jersey Christian Missionary Society	1858

WOMAN'S CONFERENCE AUXILIARY

New York Western, before	1857
An Auxiliary is also mentioned in Michigan, but the date has not been discovered.	

CHURCH SOCIETIES

Female Benevolent Society, New York City	1835
East Kensington, N. H.	1840
Boston, Mass.	1845

SUNDAY-SCHOOL SOCIETIES

Portsmouth, N. H.	very early
Suffolk Street Church, N. Y.	1844

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Conferences organized during the period 1878-1894 were as follows:	
Tippecanoe, Indiana, became Northwestern	1879
Northern Kansas	1878
Spring River, Kansas and Missouri	1878

Western Michigan and Northern Illinois	1879
Kansas State	1881
Nebraska	1882
Illinois State	1883
Bible Union, Indiana	1883
Southern Pennsylvania	1883
Ozark	1884
Kentucky State	1890
Eastern Atlantic (colored)	1890
Southwestern West Virginia	1890
Northwestern Arkansas	1892
Afro-Christian Convention	1892
Western Arkansas	1893
North Carolina and Virginia	1894
Western North Carolina	1894
Eastern North Carolina	1894
Western Washington	1894

CHAPTER XIV

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In 1869 the Southern Convention spoke on union. Pres. W. B. Wellons, in his annual address before the Convention the next year said: "We must continue in a position to co-operate with all who are laboring for union among the followers of a common Saviour. But we cannot allow ourselves to be lost in pursuit of our object, even as desirable as this is. We must maintain our organization, and hold ourselves in readiness to co-operate with those who may become ready by and by to step onto our platform." The Convention passed a preamble and resolutions calling upon all Christians of all denominations to promote the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" maintained the necessity for belief in certain fundamental doctrines and profession of that belief by all seeking church membership; and expressed the opinion that "there is a sufficient community of feeling and belief among evangelical denominations to form a basis of union, without binding the consciences of men in those matters which are but of secondary importance." This manifesto caused considerable comment in the religious press of the South.

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CHAPTER XVI

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Conferences organized in this period are as follows:

Texas Northern	1895
Red River, Indian Territory	1895
Maine (made out of Eastern and Maine Central)	1895
Southwestern Pennsylvania	1895
Northeastern Ohio	1895
West Virginia	1896
Oklahoma	1896
Scioto Valley	1897
Western North Carolina	1897
Southwestern West Virginia	1898
Central Wisconsin	1898
Northwestern Kansas	1900
Ozark, Missouri	1903
Mouse River, North Dakota	1903
Ohio Valley	1903
Northwestern North Dakota	1904
Illinois	1905

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